JANUARY 16, 2012

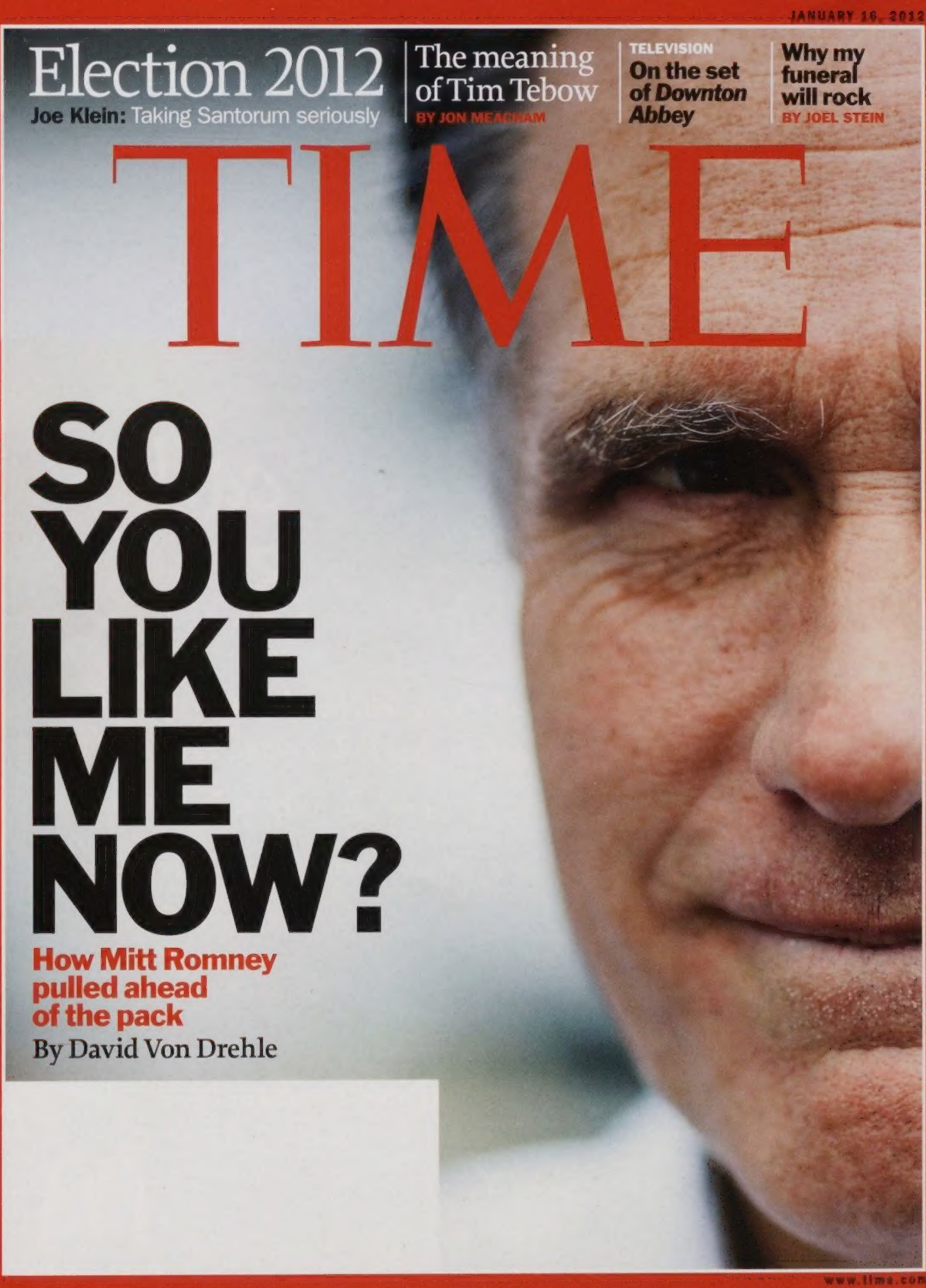
Election 2012
Joe Klein: Taking Santorum seriously

The meaning of Tim Tebow
BY JON MEACHAM

TELEVISION
On the set of *Downton Abbey*

Why my funeral will rock
BY JOEL STEIN

TIME

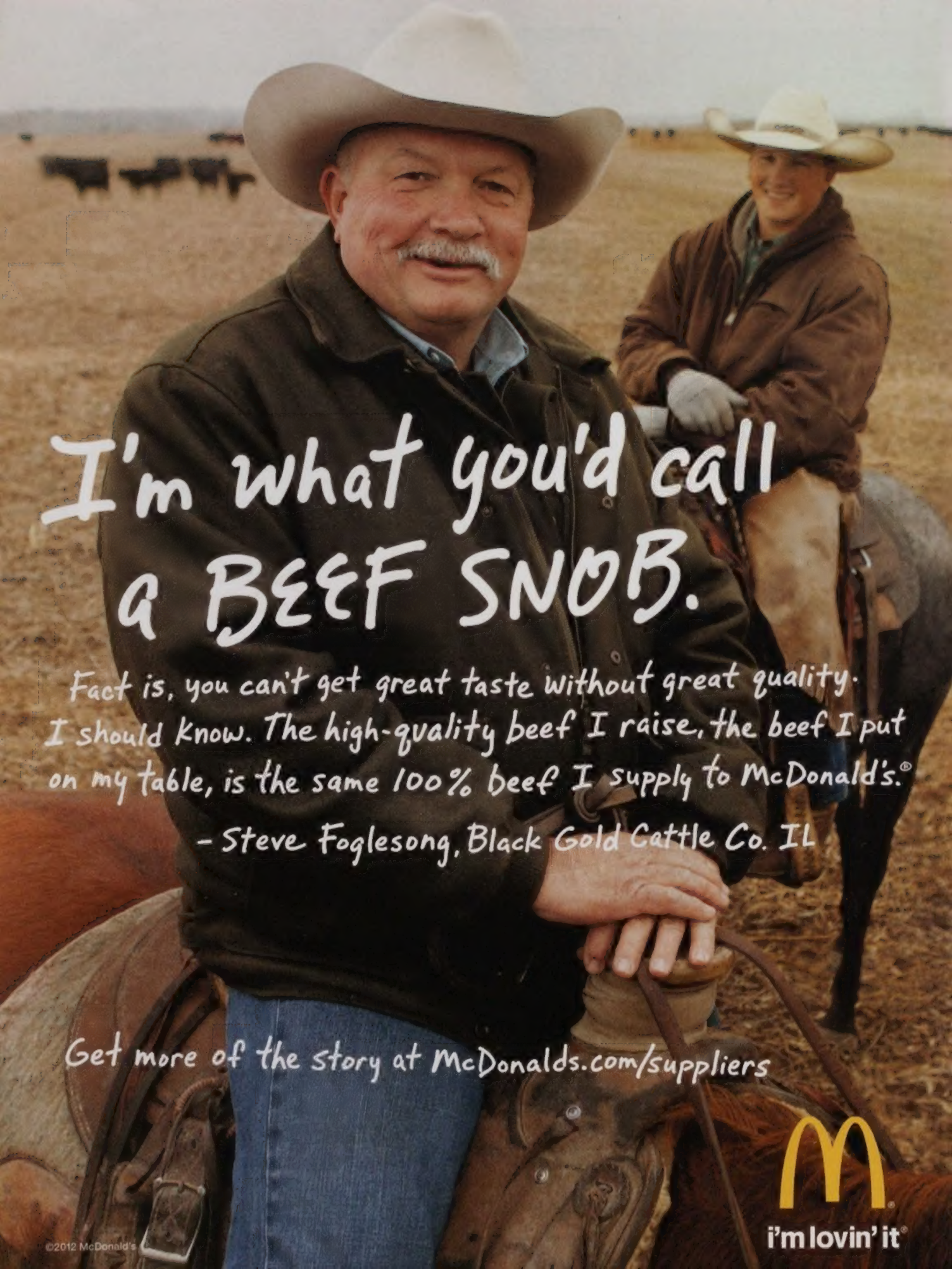


SO YOU LIKE ME NOW?

How Mitt Romney pulled ahead of the pack

By David Von Drehle

www.time.com


I'm what you'd call a BEEF SNOB.
Fact is, you can't get great taste without great quality. I should know. The high-quality beef I raise, the beef I put on my table, is the same 100% beef I supply to McDonald's.®
- Steve Foglesong, Black Gold Cattle Co. IL
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FROM TOP: PHOTOGRAPH BY LARS TUNBJORK FOR TIME; NICK BRIGGS—ITV FOR MASTERPIECE

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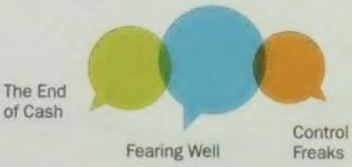
Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail



Why Iowa Matters (Even If It Shouldn't)

Iowa is an outlier. The 122,000 people who showed up to vote in the state's caucuses represent less than a fifth of registered Iowa Republicans and exactly 0.09% of the U.S. electorate. In a representative democracy, Iowa is not very representative. It is 91% white and has few Latinos, not many immigrants and low unemployment. Iowa is also the only place in presidential politics where retail campaigning can still make a difference. Jimmy Carter showed this back in 1976, and Rick Santorum followed the same playbook this year.

But Iowa matters, in part because the candidates and media put so much emphasis on it. Probably too much. We would all be better off with a regional primary system, but that's not in the cards. So after more than a year of polls, debates, position papers and commercials, we finally have actual people voting, which is the fundamental right in a democracy. That's really why Iowa matters.

Déjà vu? *Our Dec. 12 cover, which Romney is signing above, got an update*

If this week's cover feels a little familiar, there's a good reason for that. In early December, we put Mitt Romney on the cover and asked, WHY DON'T THEY LIKE ME?—a question that has been at the heart of the GOP primary process. This week, in the wake of Romney's razor-thin win in Iowa, we've updated and revised the question, using the other half of the same portrait of Romney. The first cover got a lot of attention, not least from Governor Romney himself, who began annotating the cover for those who asked him to sign it. Now the voters in New Hampshire and beyond can answer the question for themselves.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

THE CONVERSATION

'So where are they headed in 2012?'

asked NBC's Andrea Mitchell of TIME's senior political analyst Mark Halperin, who predicted a Mitt Romney–Barack Obama face-off in our **2012 User's Guide,** on the year ahead in everything from GOP strategy to cancer-fighting drugs to reality-TV stars. After Romney eked out a victory over Rick Santorum in Iowa, Joe Klein posited on Swampland that Obama may have been the real winner of the caucuses, prompting a lively discussion on our website about the state of the GOP. Noted one former supporter: "I was brought up as a Rockefeller Republican. They simply don't exist anymore. I realized that the breed was going for extinction and left." Many of our Facebook followers were fascinated by another, less politically minded TIME.com story, **"Not Birdbrains Anymore: Scientists Discover Pigeons Can Count."** "Yes," one reader responded, "and they can aim too."

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The Year Ahead

In "Fearing Well," Jeff Wise tells us what we should—and shouldn't—worry about in 2012 [Jan. 9]. But he underestimates the potential dangers of cell-phone use by relying on "numerous studies [that] have found no convincing evidence of health risks." Sometimes we need to be more fearful of the long-term danger of low-level exposure (and more skeptical when large corporations are putting out information that is helpful to their bottom line). In the case of cell phones' non-ionizing radiation and its possible effects—particularly on our children's developing brains and bodies—this fear could be crucial.

Melissa Levine, IRVINE, CALIF.

Re "Fearing Well": Thank you for listing librarians as "trusted authorities" in your matrix of things in 2012 that we don't fear and that aren't considered dangerous. If only we could convince students.

David Ettinger, International Affairs and Political Science Librarian, George Washington University, WASHINGTON

Re "The End of Cash" [Jan. 9]: If more of us start to pay for things with mobile devices, won't it make it a lot easier for hackers to steal from us, since they would have to go to only one place to lift a lot of people's information?

Matt Sultan, MONTGOMERY VILLAGE, MD.

I was taken aback by Harry McCracken's glowing description of Netflix's near-term ambitions in "Control Freaks" [Jan. 9]. Is McCracken unaware that roughly a million customers left Netflix last year because they were rudely slapped with a 60% cost increase? The loyal customers can now stream thousands of mostly B movies at will. But if they want to rent DVDs of more recent films, they have to fork up another eight bucks a month.

Bob Petrolino, RALEIGH, N.C.

ON LIGHTBOX

4,758 Portraits and Counting

Long before Flickr, fine-art photographer Jeff Harris began taking one self-portrait a day and posting it on his website. Thirteen years later, the project captures the cancer survivor's life in all its moods and tones. See a video compilation of his work at lightbox.time.com.

Political Courage

Joe Klein writes that "diplomats are not often cited for courage" ["The 2011 Teddy Awards," Dec. 26–Jan. 2]. Yet in giving out awards for political courage, he overlooked the most prolific diplomat of 2011, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who accomplished more last year than anyone, on a number of fronts—not the least of which is keeping the focus on equalizing the roles of women and opportunities for girls worldwide. May the day come soon when women and girls enjoy equality in education and governance and lead the direction of history in every country. Perhaps it will be a day when many of our global conflicts will be solved as well.

Leslie K. Brown, SACRAMENTO

Perhaps Klein could think of no courageous politician to the right of Jon Huntsman, but I sure can: Ron Paul. He is the definition of standing up to power, peer pressure and jingoism. He opposes pre-emptive foreign wars, the failed war on drugs and discrimination against Islam. I can think of no greater or more fearless champion of freedom and human rights than Paul.

Chuck Semonian, TEHACHAPI, CALIF.

So Huntsman gets a Teddy in part for believing in evolution? Really? Is that where the bar is now? I thought we were living in the 21st century, not the Dark Ages.

Jay Wilson, SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.

Person of the Year

Instead of choosing the Protester, you should have picked the Navy SEAL team that courageously hunted down Osama bin Laden [Dec. 26–Jan. 2]. Burying its leader, Admiral William McRaven, as a runner-up on page 94 was insufficient. America needs heroes, and the SEALs fill the bill.

Mary Curtius, CORONADO, CALIF.

How fitting that TIME named the Protester as its Person of the Year for 2011. Thanks to the ability of Americans to protest, women won the right to vote, African Americans overturned segregation laws, gay people came out of the closet of oppression, and wars from Vietnam to Iraq were held up to scrutiny. As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "There is nothing more powerful to dramatize a social evil than the tramp, tramp of marching feet."

Ed Tant, ATHENS, GA.

JEFF HARRIS

WRITE TO US

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FOR GETTING UP-TO-DATE ON ADULT VACCINES?

Like many people, I didn't always think about adult vaccinations as an important part of my health—until I learned that millions of US adults get sick and thousands die from vaccine-preventable diseases, some of which can be spread to others.

I also learned that immunity from certain vaccines fades over time, and new vaccines may have been developed since I was a child. **The CDC* recommends multiple vaccines for adults, depending on age and risk of infection, to help protect against up to 14 diseases or more. These diseases include whooping cough, flu and hepatitis B.**

You could be at risk for getting serious diseases. Talk to a healthcare professional about the vaccines you may need. Everyone has a reason to help protect their health. **What's yours?**

*Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

VISIT **HELPPREVENTDISEASE.COM** TO LEARN MORE

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*Based on cumulative total return, 6 of 12 (50%), 12 of 12, 10 of 10, and 12 of 12 of the Retirement Funds for individual investors outperformed their Lipper average for the 1-, 3-, and 5-year and since-inception periods ended 9/30/11, respectively. The Retirement 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, and Income Funds began operations on 9/30/02; the 2005, 2015, 2025, and 2035 Funds began operations on 2/29/04; the 2045 Fund began operations on 5/31/05; and the 2050 and 2055 Funds began operations on 12/31/06 (and thus do not have a 5-year performance history). (Source for data: Lipper Inc.)

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Briefing

'Now is the time to act or get stuck with a bland, boring, career politician who will lose to Barack Obama.'

1. RICK SANTORUM, Republican presidential candidate, referring to opponent Mitt Romney in an e-mail sent while the Iowa caucuses were still too close to call; Romney later beat Santorum by eight votes

'I haven't had a good night's sleep since last week, and I'm looking forward to one tonight.'

2. ZEV YAROSLAVSKY, Los Angeles County supervisor, after police arrested Harry Burkhart, a German national living in Hollywood, on suspicion of setting more than 50 fires over four days in the L.A. area

'We are not in the habit of warning more than once.'

3. ATAOLLAH SALEHI, chief of the Iranian army, exhorting the U.S. Navy not to return the carrier task force led by the U.S.S. *John C. Stennis* to the Persian Gulf

'We're going to turn the Department of Defense into a benefits company that occasionally kills a terrorist.'

4. ARNOLD PUNARO, consultant on the Defense Business Board, a Pentagon advisory group, warning that unsustainable personnel costs and retirement benefits will harm the military's readiness

'David Beckham is in Los Angeles, and he's going to stay there.'

5. NASSER AL-KHELAIFI, president of French soccer club Paris Saint-Germain, after the former England captain turned down an offer to join the team

90,000

Speed, in miles per hour, at which debris from the asteroid 2003 EH1 entered Earth's atmosphere on Jan. 4, forming a meteor shower

4

Number of times each year the Federal Reserve will update the public on how long it plans to keep short-term interest rates at existing levels, a first for the U.S. central bank

$30 BILLION

Value of U.S. military vehicles and equipment that must be removed from mountainous, landlocked Afghanistan by 2014 as troops withdraw

20

Weight, in metric tons, of dead herring that washed up on the northern coast of Norway on Dec. 31; a day later, the fish disappeared

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE FOR TIME; FROM LEFT: AP (2); GETTY IMAGES; U.S. NAVY/GETTY IMAGES; AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

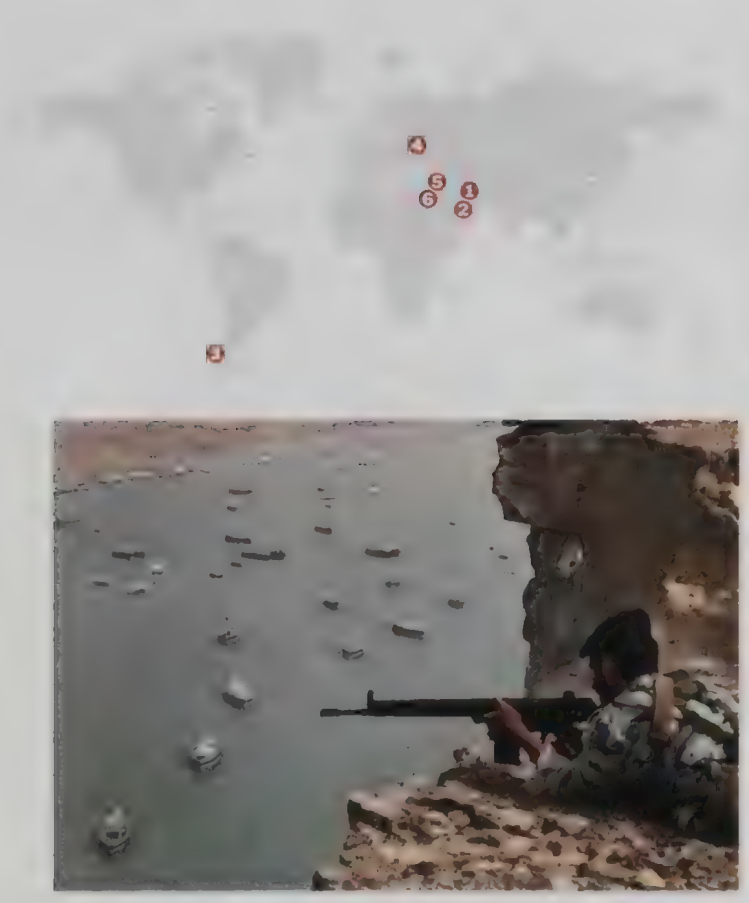
Sources: Politico; NPR; Reuters; New York *Times*; Los Angeles *Times*

LightBox

Muddy waters
A man dips his hands in crude oil during a protest in Nigeria against petro giant Shell, which is accused of spilling 40,000 barrels of oil off the West African nation's coast

Photograph by George Esiri—EPA
lightbox.time.com

World



An Iranian soldier scans ships near the Strait of Hormuz

War Games Mask Worries at Home

1 | IRAN An increasingly isolated Islamic Republic conducted a 10-day naval exercise near the strategic Strait of Hormuz, a pivotal sea lane linking the Persian Gulf to the rest of the world. The Iranians tested a new naval cruise missile and used the occasion to issue a number of bellicose statements, warning the West, specifically the U.S., against meddling in Iranian waters and boasting of Iran's ability to seal off the strait—an act that would wreak havoc on global oil markets. Hobbled by a new round of international sanctions aimed at curbing its nuclear program, Iran has tried to puff out its chest while domestic woes continue to mount. The nation's currency, the rial, hit record lows against the dollar as worries about oil prices and the possible impact of new sanctions took their toll. And cracks have started to show within a panicked regime: the outspoken daughter of reform-friendly former President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was sentenced to six months in prison for "making propaganda" against the state. Meanwhile, Iran has offered to restart talks over its nuclear program, which it insists is peaceable. The U.S., though, is toughening its stance. On Dec. 29, it sealed a $30 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia, Iran's chief regional adversary.

New Base of Operations

2 | QATAR The Afghan Taliban plan to open a political office in the Persian Gulf state of Qatar to hold peace talks with the U.S. The move, which has the grudging support of the Afghan government, follows months of backroom talks between the Taliban and U.S. officials, who hope it might be a first step toward a negotiated settlement of the decadelong war.

CHINA

38

Entertainment shows aired during prime time each week down from 126 last year—the result of state efforts to cut "vulgar" and Western style content

SENEGAL

'For a long time, men and women have demonstrated their optimism, dreaming of a new Senegal. I listened. I heard.'

YOUSSOU N'DOUR, celebrated world-music star, announcing his candidacy in the West African nation's February presidential election

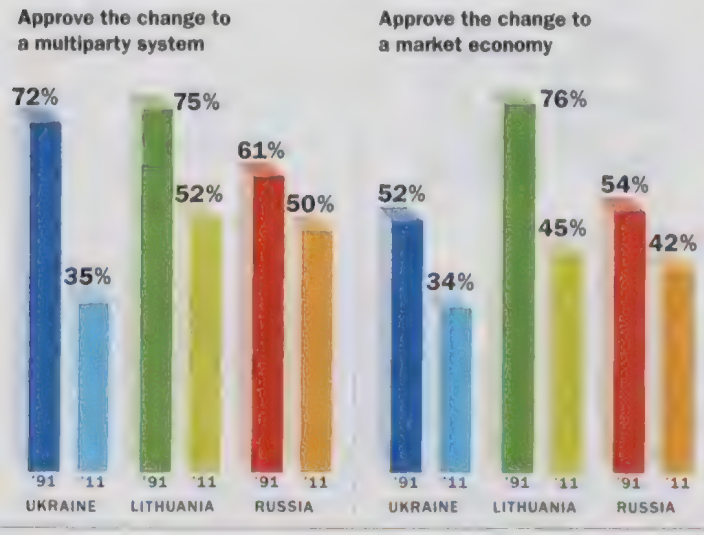
CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: HAMED JAFARNEJAD—FARS NEWS/REUTERS; REUTERS; MENAHEM KAHANA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; PASCAL LE SEGRETAIN—GETTY IMAGES

Scorched Earth

3 | CHILE *Firefighters hike down the slopes of the Torres del Paine National Park in southern Patagonia en route to combatting wildfires that temporarily closed this tourist hot spot. In all, nearly 100,000 acres (40,000 hectares) were destroyed across the picturesque region, damage Chilean officials blame on global warming. The country has experienced a particularly dry summer.*

If Only History Hadn't Ended

4 | RUSSIA Twenty years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a growing number of citizens in former Soviet republics are disillusioned with changes in their nations. A Pew survey in Ukraine, Lithuania and Russia found a marked dip in confidence in democracy and capitalism, with many angered by the corruption and excesses of ruling elites.



SOURCE: PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT

So Much For That

5 | SYRIA Monitors deployed by the Arab League to investigate the crackdown on antigovernment protesters faced calls to withdraw by critics of President Bashar Assad, who say the monitors are failing to perform their mission. Their tour of restive Syrian cities was meant to de-escalate a spiraling conflict that has claimed thousands of lives. But critics claim Assad's forces have killed an additional 150 or more civilians since the monitors arrived in late December.

Fundamentalist Fight

6 | ISRAEL An altercation between an 8-year-old schoolgirl and a crowd of ultra-Orthodox Jews prompted a heated debate over Israeli national identity. The girl was spat on and called a prostitute by a group of Haredim, or "God-fearing" believers, who deemed her shirtsleeves and skirt immodest. The incident incensed secular Israelis—already resentful because many ultra-Orthodox don't work but instead receive government funds to pursue religious study—and highlighted growing divides in the Jewish state.

Ultra-Orthodox and secular Israelis clash Dec. 26

By Ishaan Tharoor

Nation

Between the Lines

By Mark Halperin

Rick Perry goes back to Texas diminished by his Iowa flameout, but his ally Louisiana Governor **Bobby Jindal** impressed many in Iowa with a more compelling stump speech than any of the candidates' ... **Michele Bachmann** just might return to Congress less in demand by the grassroots and conservative media ... **Rick Santorum**'s campaign manager, **Michael Biundo**, learned his politics in New Hampshire working for **Pat Buchanan**'s underdog primary win in 1996 ... Will **Jon Huntsman** show some last-minute fight in New Hampshire, or is his eye now trained on 2016 and beyond? His shot at a job in any Republican Cabinet is probably gone.

As the Romney bandwagon becomes standing room only, **Mitt Romney** should thank **George H.W. Bush**, **John McCain** and New Hampshire Senator **Kelly Ayotte** for their early endorsements. Each has extra clout with key elements of the GOP ... Watch Republicans make nicey-nice with **Ron Paul** to court his supporters and keep him from running as an independent ... As **Romney** gets closer to the nomination, look for signs that he is moving toward the center, making plays for Hispanic and female voters. Listen to conservative talk-radio hosts to see if they go to war with the GOP front runner—or embrace him.

Obama's aides have been itching for the fight against Romney for months, if only to divert the spotlight from the ailing economy. To stay ahead of the fall matchup, follow Obama's **David Axelrod** and Romney's **Eric Fehrnstrom** on Twitter. The only politician luckier than Romney is Obama, who believes the long Republican fight in 2011 has revived his chances to keep his job.

...194 wells for fracking wastewater

OHIO EARTHQUAKES

After a 4.0 earthquake shook Youngstown, Ohio, on Dec. 31—the second in a week and the 11th in the area since March—even state authorities had to wonder whether the local boom in natural gas fracking wells could be to blame. Fracking, a process in which water is blasted underground to break rocks and release methane gas, has helped revive rural economies from Ohio to New England. But wastewater is often injected deep underground afterward, leading, some scientists believe, to temblors, once rare in Ohio. For now, state officials have shut one particularly active waste well for analysis.

BATTLEGROUNDS

New Voter-ID Laws

Voting is starting to look like flying: you may need a government ID to participate. Kansas, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Texas enacted ballot-security laws in 2011. Nearly 30 other states considered enhanced ID checks at the polls. Advocates say the new measures prevent fraud; the Obama Justice Department has raised concerns that the rules may dampen turnout among minorities and the elderly.

What to bring to the ballot box

- PHOTO ID REQUIRED
- PHOTO ID PREFERRED
- NONPHOTO ID
- NO VOTER-ID LAW

NUMBER

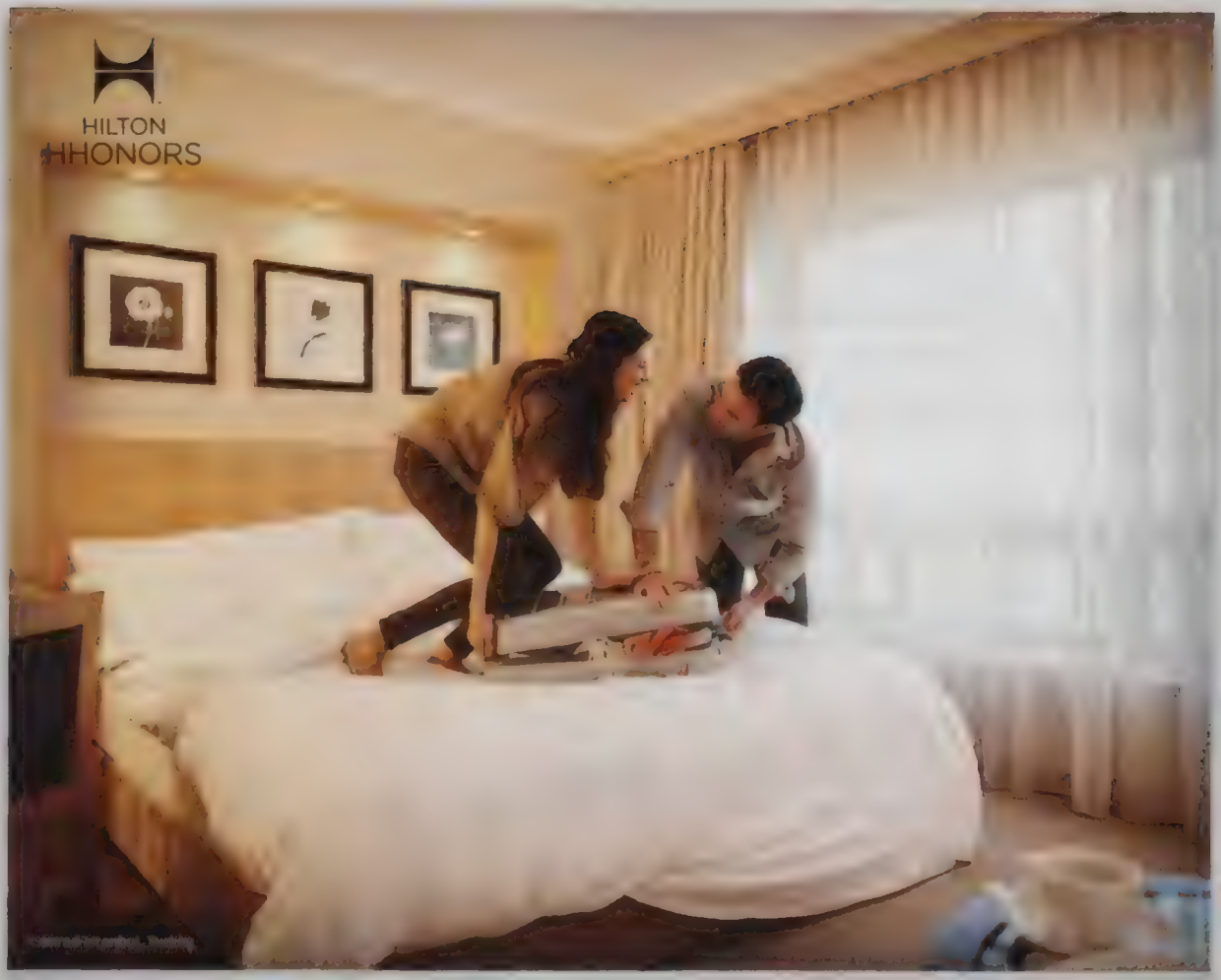
92

Number of U.S. banks that failed in 2011, an improvement over 2010, when 157 banks were wiped out, and 2009, when 140 went bust

PANETTA'S WAR

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta has begun a yearlong campaign to prevent lawmakers from cutting any more than $450 billion from the Pentagon's nearly $6 trillion 10-year spending plan. Military reformers believe the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines could weather budget cuts of twice that amount, paring weapons and personnel costs back to the 2007 levels now that one war is over and another is winding down. Panetta says his $450 billion in cuts are "manageable" but warns that deeper reductions are unacceptable.

By Elizabeth Dias and Mark Thompson



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Crime

A still from a surveillance video that helped lead to the arrest

Mutter Dearest. The fires that terrified L.A. may come down to the tale of a German and his mother

By Jens Erik Gould

A FEW HOURS BEFORE 2012 ARRIVED in Los Angeles, Troy Patruno looked from the window of a friend's living room and saw an orange glow engulfing his Volkswagen. Minutes later, nothing was left but a melted frame. Patruno, a 44-year-old retail manager, had become another victim of a four-day arson spree that simultaneously baffled and frightened Angelenos. "I can't believe this is happening," said Matt Molchen, 34, a comic who lives in West Hollywood, as he surveyed a charred carport a block from his house. It had been torched the night before. "I mean, we moved here because it was safe."

At first the fires seemed to be isolated events, but as they scattered through various neighborhoods so capriciously, fear spread. The sounds of sirens and helicopters roared through the usually tranquil streets of Hollywood, where many residents spent sleepless nights looking out their windows. No one died in the fires, but some of the blazes lit up nearby buildings. Damages are estimated to be at least $3 million.

The fires came to an end after a video including images of the alleged arsonist was released to the public. Early on Jan. 2, a sheriff's deputy recognized the man driving down Sunset Boulevard in a minivan. The deputy—a $1-a-year volunteer—arrested Harry Burkhart, a 24-year-old German national.

Burkhart has a tangled set of grievances related to his mother Dorothee, who is wanted on fraud charges in Germany. The Burkharts lived in a second-story apartment above a Hollywood salon called Le Figaro. Dorothee, 53, had flown to Las Vegas from Germany in October. Even though she is a fugitive, they both showed up at the German consulate in Los Angeles on Oct. 26 to have his passport renewed.

Neighbors on Sunset had thought Harry unremarkable. He ate at Subway and occasionally asked about Middle East politics, according to Shlomo Elady, 44, a stylist at Le Figaro who cut Harry's hair, which he keeps in a ponytail. Burkhart spoke German, English and Russian, which he used to converse with his mother, who walked uncomfortably on a swollen leg.

Elady says Burkhart was aggrieved by the criminal charges against Dorothee. According to a U.S. federal complaint filed Dec. 19 at the request of the German government, she allegedly committed 19 acts of fraud from 2000 to 2006 "as a member of a gang." The charges she faces include not paying for a $10,000 breast-augmentation surgery in 2004. The complaint also lists a slew of cases adding up to some $44,000 in alleged embezzlements.

Dorothee Burkhart was arrested Dec. 29. During a hearing in federal court that day, Harry apparently erupted in anger, screamed profanities and had to be escorted from the building, according to Thom Mrozek, spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office in Los Angeles. A few hours later, the fires began. The day after Harry's arrest, Dorothee appeared in court and seemed disoriented, claiming to be uncertain as to her son's whereabouts. She said she worries that he is mentally ill.

Burkhart was booked on one count of arson, and authorities expect he will face additional charges. They believe he acted alone. Elady says Burkhart never showed signs of anger or depression. In short, the motives for the fires remain a knotty mystery, one that Angelenos are puzzling over. For now, though, they are just happy not to look out their windows at night to see their cars ablaze. ■

A Mercedes in Sun Valley is hit by one of at least 50 fires set over four days in L.A.

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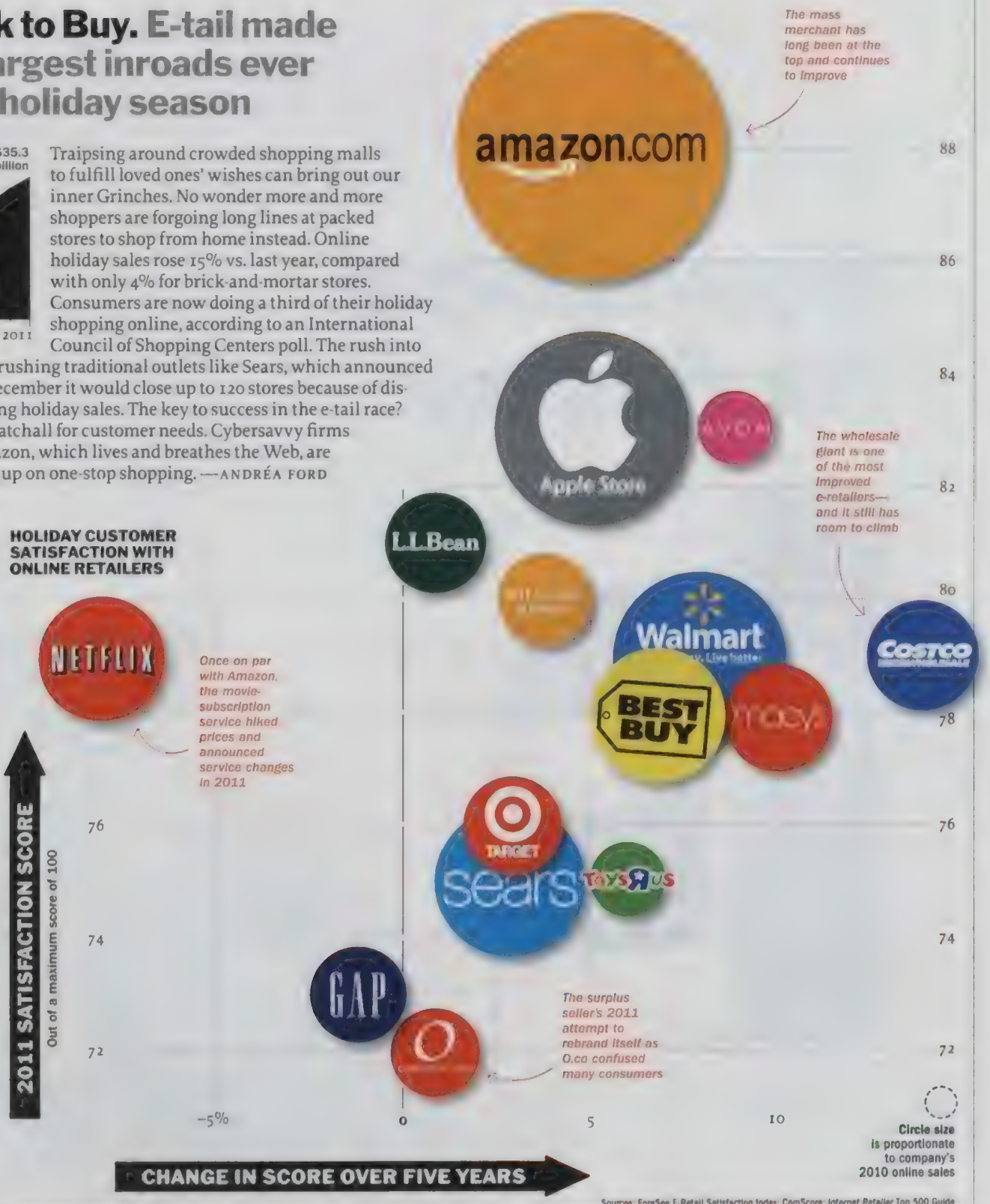
Economy

Click to Buy. E-tail made its largest inroads ever this holiday season

Traipsing around crowded shopping malls to fulfill loved ones' wishes can bring out our inner Grinches. No wonder more and more shoppers are forgoing long lines at packed stores to shop from home instead. Online holiday sales rose 15% vs. last year, compared with only 4% for brick-and-mortar stores. Consumers are now doing a third of their holiday shopping online, according to an International Council of Shopping Centers poll. The rush into e-tail is crushing traditional outlets like Sears, which announced in late December it would close up to 120 stores because of disappointing holiday sales. The key to success in the e-tail race? Being a catchall for customer needs. Cybersavvy firms like Amazon, which lives and breathes the Web, are cleaning up on one-stop shopping. —ANDRÉA FORD



Sources: ForeSee E-Retail Satisfaction Index; ComScore; *Internet Retailer* Top 500 Guide

Prescription only

Ready to try to quit smoking? Meet another option.

Nicotrol Inhaler
(nicotine inhalation system)

Trying to quit smoking but need some help? Talk to your doctor to see if NICOTROL Inhaler–the inhaled prescription nicotine replacement therapy–may be right for you.

NICOTROL Inhaler, when used as part of a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program, may help you quit smoking by reducing your urge to smoke.[1]

For more information on NICOTROL Inhaler, visit www.Nicotrol.com/2012

Indication

NICOTROL Inhaler is indicated as an aid to smoking cessation for the relief of nicotine withdrawal symptoms. It is available only by prescription and is recommended for use as part of a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program.

Important Safety Information

Do not use the NICOTROL Inhaler if you are hypersensitive or allergic to nicotine, menthol, or to any ingredient in the product.

If you have cardiovascular, peripheral vascular, or bronchospastic diseases including asthma or chronic pulmonary disease, talk to your doctor about using the NICOTROL Inhaler. If you are under a doctor's care for any condition, you should first discuss with your doctor the potential risks of using this product.

You should stop smoking completely before using the NICOTROL Inhaler. You should not smoke or use other nicotine-containing products while under treatment with the NICOTROL Inhaler.

Because nicotine is addictive, it is possible to become dependent on the NICOTROL Inhaler. It is important to use it only for as long as needed to overcome your smoking habit. The safety of treatment with the NICOTROL Inhaler for periods longer than 6 months has not been established, and such use is not recommended.

A special note about children and pets: The NICOTROL Inhaler can cause serious illness or be fatal in children and pets–even in very small amounts. If a child chews on or swallows new or used NICOTROL Inhaler cartridges, immediately call a doctor or call your regional poison center.

The specific effects of the NICOTROL Inhaler treatment on fetal development and nursing infants are unknown. Therefore, pregnant and nursing smokers should be encouraged to attempt cessation using educational and behavioral interventions before using pharmacological approaches.

You are likely to experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat, or cough when you first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. In clinical trials, the frequency of mouth or throat irritation, or coughing declined with continued use. The most common nicotine-related side effect was upset stomach. Other nicotine-related side effects were nausea, diarrhea, and hiccup. Smoking-related side effects included chest discomfort, bronchitis, and high blood pressure.

It is important to tell your doctor about any other medications you may be taking because they may need dosage adjustment.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Brief Summary of Important Risk Information for NICOTROL Inhaler on the back.

1. Nicotrol Inhaler [prescribing information]. New York, NY: Pfizer Inc; 2008.

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Nicotrol® Inhaler

(nicotine inhalation system)

10 mg per cartridge (4 mg delivered)

Important Facts About NICOTROL Inhaler

This information does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about NICOTROL Inhaler?

Do not use NICOTROL Inhaler if you are hypersensitive or allergic to nicotine or to menthol.

Because you are already addicted to the nicotine in cigarettes, it is possible to stay dependent on the lower dose of nicotine found in the NICOTROL Inhaler. It is important to use the Inhaler for only as long as directed by your doctor to overcome your nicotine addiction and smoking habit.

People who use NICOTROL Inhaler with a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program are more successful in quitting smoking. This program can include support groups, counseling or specific behavior change techniques.

Remember:

- **Do not use more than 16 cartridges each day unless directed to do so by your doctor**
- **Do not use NICOTROL Inhaler longer than 6 months**

Keep out of reach of children and pets. The NICOTROL Inhaler can cause serious illness in children and pets—even in very small amounts. If a child chews on or swallows NICOTROL Inhaler cartridges, call a doctor or Poison Control Center.

NICOTROL Inhaler may cause side effects. Many people experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat and cough when they first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. Most people get used to these effects in a short time. Stomach upset may also occur. Nicotine from any source can be toxic and addictive.

If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, only use this medicine on the advice of your health care provider. Smoking can seriously harm your child. Try to stop smoking without using any nicotine replacement medicine. This medicine is believed to be safer than smoking. However, the risks to your child from this medicine are not fully known.

What should I know before I start using NICOTROL Inhaler?

Commit yourself – NO SMOKING! For the NICOTROL Inhaler to help, you must be firmly committed to quitting! **Stop smoking** as soon as you **start using the Inhaler.** Do not smoke or use any other tobacco products at any time while using the NICOTROL Inhaler.

Nicotine overdose can occur. If symptoms of overdose occur, call a doctor or Poison Control Center immediately. Overdose symptoms include: bad headaches, dizziness, upset stomach, drooling, vomiting, diarrhea, cold sweat, blurred vision, hearing difficulties, mental confusion, weakness and fainting.

What is NICOTROL Inhaler?

NICOTROL Inhaler helps you quit smoking by reducing your urge to smoke. Success in quitting with nicotine replacement therapy (such as NICOTROL Inhaler) usually involves behavior change. Your doctor may adjust the number of Inhaler cartridges during the first few weeks. As your body adjusts to not smoking, your doctor will either tell you to stop using the Inhaler or slowly reduce the dose.

What is a nicotine replacement therapy?

Nicotine replacement products are one type of smoking cessation product. Designed to wean your body off cigarettes, they supply you with nicotine in controlled amounts while sparing you from other chemicals found in tobacco products.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using NICOTROL Inhaler?

Tell your doctor if you have:

- heart problems (recent heart attack, irregular heartbeat, severe or worsening heart pain)
- allergies to drugs
- high blood pressure
- diabetes requiring insulin
- stomach ulcers
- kidney or liver disease
- overactive thyroid
- wheezing or asthma

Tell your doctor about any medicines you are taking—the dosages may need to be changed. Check with your doctor before taking *any* new medicine while using NICOTROL Inhaler.

What are the possible side effects of NICOTROL Inhaler?

You may experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat and cough when you first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. You should get used to these effects in a short time. Stomach upset may also occur.

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

How do I use NICOTROL Inhaler?

Follow doctor's directions. Stop smoking completely during the NICOTROL Inhaler treatment program. See full Patient Information for additional details.

How should I store NICOTROL Inhaler?

- Store cartridges at room temperature, not to exceed 77° F (25° C)
- If you keep cartridges in car, be careful: interiors heat up quickly
- Protect from light
- Clean mouthpiece regularly with soap and water

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Need more information? Ask your doctor or healthcare provider. Talk to your pharmacist. Visit to www.NICOTROL.com or call 1-800-222-7200.

References: 1. Nicotrol Inhaler [prescribing information]. New York, NY: Pfizer Inc; 2008. **2.** FDA 101: Smoking cessation products. U.S. Food and Drug Administration Web site. http://www.fda.gov/ForConsumers/ConsumerUpdates/ucm198176.htm. Accessed November 14, 2011.

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Health&Science

The Reason for Recess. Children who are more physically active may do better in school

By Alice Park

FIRST LADY MICHELLE OBAMA IS CONSTANTLY PROMOTING HER "LET'S MOVE" message to Americans, and she may be onto something. Physical activity does the body good, and there's growing evidence that it helps the brain too.

Researchers in the Netherlands report that children who get more exercise, whether at school or on their own, tend to have higher GPAs and better scores on standardized tests. In a review of 14 studies that looked at physical activity and academic performance, investigators found that the more children moved, the better their grades were in school, particularly in the basic subjects of math, English and reading.

The data support earlier research that linked exercise with greater productivity and fewer sick days among adults and will certainly fuel the ongoing debate over whether physical-education classes should be cut as schools struggle to survive on smaller budgets. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, students need about one hour of physical activity every day to remain healthy; only 18% of high school students met this requirement in the week before a 2009 survey, and 23% had not exercised at all during that period.

Ironically, the arguments against P.E. have included concerns that gym time may be taking away from study time. With standardized test scores in the U.S. dropping in recent years, some administrators believe students need to spend more time in the classroom instead of on the playground. But as these findings show, exercise and academics may not be mutually exclusive. Physical activity can improve blood flow to the brain, fueling memory, attention and creativity, which are essential to learning. And exercise releases hormones that can improve mood and suppress stress, which can also help learning. So while it may seem as if kids are just exercising their bodies when they're running around, they may actually be exercising their brains as well.

INSECTS

What's Behind the Zombie Bees?

Since 2006, beekeepers across the U.S. have been alarmed by a scary sight: eerily quiet, empty hives. Adult worker bees, normally such industrious laborers, have been abandoning their hives in droves and wandering around in a confused state like insect zombies before dying somewhere away from home.

Researchers first thought a combination of viral and fungal infections was wasting the bee population, but the latest analysis shows that there may be a third culprit—a fly. San Francisco State University biologist John Hafernik discovered the connection by accident after he left a vial of bees on his desk and later discovered they were infested with fly pupae. The flies lay eggs in the bees' abdomen, and the parasitized hosts then abandon the hive, flying in circles before expiring. While having fly eggs in your abdomen is never a good thing, both the flies and the bees also carry the virus and fungus. How all these pathogens interact is still unclear.

VITAL SIGNS

↓1.7%

OCEAN SCIENCE

Diversity in The Deep

The earth's exhaust system doesn't seem like an ideal place for life, but underwater hydrothermal vents that spew forth the chemical waste of the planet's volcanic activity are a haven for deep-sea creatures. A team led by researchers in the U.K. that studied vents in the Antarctic Ocean found never before-seen species of yeti crab and starfish and a shockingly white octopus, all of which live off hydrogen sulfide and carbon dioxide instead of oxygen. Other animals that populate vents in other oceans were noticeably absent, possibly because of the icier temperatures that only the hardiest fauna can withstand.

Sources: *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, PLOS One, CA: A Cancer Journal for Clinicians, PLOS Biology*

Milestones

CONVICTED

Gary Dobson and David Norris

The men who killed Stephen Lawrence went unpunished for 18 years—the same number of years their victim had lived. The black teenager was murdered in a racist attack at a London bus stop in 1993. Instead of chasing the white gang responsible, Scotland Yard officers on the scene interrogated one of Lawrence's friends. Investigators treated Lawrence's family with suspicion that shaded into hostility as his mother Doreen emerged as a powerful campaigner for justice. On Jan. 3, she finally secured what she called "some sort of justice": the murder convictions of Gary Dobson, 36, and David Norris, 35, two members of the group that beat and stabbed her son to death.

Afterward his mother said she hoped people would now remember her son, an aspiring architect, "as a bright, beautiful young man." An architecture award in his name provides a reminder that he was more than a homicide statistic. But his biggest legacy was to change Britain. A 1999 inquiry into the original police investigation laid bare institutional racism in Scotland Yard, forcing reforms that improved policing in the British capital. Most important, the murder and its aftermath made many white Britons confront their own prejudices. But family celebrations of the convictions were muted. "There were five or six attackers that night," said Stephen's father Neville in a statement. "I do not think I'll be able to rest until they are all brought to justice." —CATHERINE MAYER

DIED

Bob Anderson

Those versed in *Star Wars* lore know well that Darth Vader was actually played by two men: James Earl Jones provided the voice and bodybuilder David Prowse the physique. But when it came to the films' legendary lightsaber duels, Bob Anderson, a champion swordsman and fight choreographer, stepped into Lord Vader's costume. Anderson, who died Jan. 1 at 89, was a world-class fencer who represented Britain in the 1952 Olympics and in two world championships. A master of the foil, épée and saber, he turned his talents to film. In a career that began with training Errol Flynn—whom Anderson accidentally stabbed in the thigh in a rehearsal—and lasted through the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and the upcoming *Hobbit* films, he created some of the most memorable screen sword fights, including the ambidextrous cliff-top duel in *The Princess Bride*. —NATE RAWLINGS

DIED

Eva Zeisel

The ceramic designer Eva Zeisel made modernism feel right at home. Her stylish tableware had clean lines and surfaces but also voluptuous silhouettes that made it sensuous, warm and inviting. The bodily relations between mothers and children were a fundamental inspiration—her salt and pepper shakers almost cuddle.

The Hungarian-born Zeisel, who was 105 when she died on Dec. 30, immigrated to the U.S. in 1938. Two years earlier, while design director of the state-run Soviet porcelain and glass industry, she had been falsely accused of plotting to kill Joseph Stalin. She spent 16 months in prison, an experience her childhood friend Arthur Koestler drew on for his classic novel of Stalinist oppression, *Darkness at Noon*.

—RICHARD LACAYO

DIED
Robert Carter, 94; as an NAACP lawyer, he crafted crucial legal arguments in the fight against racial discrimination, including in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

BEGUN
The tribunal in absentia of former Tunisian President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali for his alleged role in the deaths of protesters during the January 2011 Jasmine Revolution.

SCORED
A combined 123 points, in Baylor's 67-56 victory over the University of Washington in the Dec. 29 Alamo Bowl. It was a record for points scored in regulation play in a Division I college-football bowl game.

DIED
Mike Colalillo, 86, who as a World War II private earned the Medal of Honor for killing or wounding 25 German soldiers and saving a badly injured comrade.

UPHELD
By an Ecuadorian appellate court, an $18.2 billion judgment in a class action against Chevron for polluting the Amazon River with oil from 1972 to 1992.

DIED
Kiro Gligorov, 94, first democratically elected President of Macedonia. In 1991 he led his republic, then part of Yugoslavia, in a bloodless transition to independence.

LET'S TALK ABOUT
GIVING YOUR RETIREMENT ACCOUNT
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TALK TO CHUCK

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Rana Foroohar

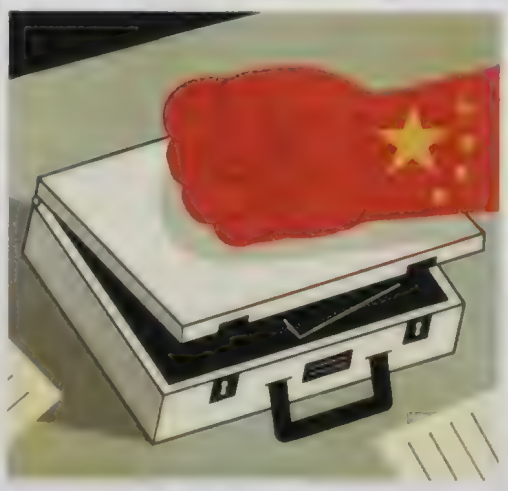
China's Crackdown on Capitalism

Crony communism has businesspeople and peasants protesting state interference

WHEN LEADERS BEGIN BLAMING "international hostile forces" for problems at home, it's a sure sign they've got trouble. That's exactly what Chinese President Hu Jintao did recently in a speech, published by a Communist Party magazine, in which he accused outsiders of plotting to "westernize and divide China."

The hard-line rhetoric is likely aimed at diverting attention from a growing list of internal issues, including income inequality, unemployment and discontent over blatant land and money grabs by self-dealing state officials and developers. In the wake of the Arab Spring, which must have scared the daylights out of Beijing, Hu & co. have been clamping down on free speech and human rights throughout the country. Since early last year, the government has tightened Internet controls and jailed dozens of public intellectuals and human-rights activists, including high-profile figures like artist Ai Weiwei. In the past month, three veteran activists have gone to prison. Ni Yulan, a lawyer who has drawn attention to the plight of people evicted from their homes by property developers, is expected to get a steep jail sentence in the next few weeks. The charges include "picking quarrels." She's already suffered through years of jail and debilitating beatings by authorities.

While China has lifted hundreds of millions of its citizens out of poverty over the past generation, the issue of housing is particularly touchy because it goes to the heart of growing tensions between state and society in a quickly urbanizing country. In China, the government can force farmers to sell their land to developers, often at rock-bottom prices, to fuel a state-run real estate machine that disproportionately enriches the elites. But rural folk, who have rising expectations for a better life, are pushing back, as evidenced by a highly visible battle over a landgrab in the fishing village of Wukan, where a local leader recently died in police custody. This is just one of thousands of protests in China every year—about 60% of them related to land disputes, according to Ran Tao, a senior fellow at the Brookings-Tsinghua Center.



Villagers and human-rights activists aren't the only ones suffering at the hands of the government. Private businesses are too, albeit less noticeably. The post-financial-crisis conventional wisdom credits China's success to better policing of the economy: the ring-fenced, state-controlled banking sector was spared the worst financial-contagion effects. And Beijing was able to prop up growth throughout the global recession with a massive stimulus program focused on infrastructure projects—high-speed rail, new roads and public-facility upgrades.

But at the same time, support for the private sector, which employs 80% of China's workers, has been shrinking. Private businesses now get only about 20% of all Chinese bank loans, according to MIT professor Yasheng Huang, author of *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics*, even though they are vastly more productive than the state giants that suck up most of the country's capital.

So money comes out of the pockets of cheap Chinese laborers, whose savings, held by the big state banks, get funneled to government-run firms and real estate projects. If banks would start supporting private enterprise and liberalizing financial markets as they did until 1989, says Huang, incomes would rise, consumers would spend, and China (not to mention the world) would be more fiscally stable. Indeed, that's exactly what happened from 1979 to 1988, the period of fastest economic and income growth in China.

Of course, if workers were richer, they'd also be more politically demanding. It's no accident that state-run business began resurging post-1989. That's when the Tiananmen demonstrations brought the inherent conflict between autocracy and middle-class aspirations into violent focus.

The Chinese can probably keep the growth engine churning for some time. They still have plenty of cheap labor—including hundreds of millions living on less than $2 a day—and cheap land to exploit, particularly in the West. But the protests in Wukan and the clampdowns on those who question the crony-communist business-as-usual policy are underscoring the cracks in the foundation of China's economic model. Ultimately, the leadership has to spread wealth to the furthest reaches of Chinese society. Western-style capitalism, under fire since the financial crisis, certainly needs to be reimagined. Eventually, capitalism with Chinese characteristics will too. ■

ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME

School buildings that make a lasting impression.

Siemens answers for building technology provide a brighter future for students and the environment.

At 8:00 a.m. every day, the first period bell rings across a Tennessee school district. As desks fill up and notebooks open, the classrooms look nothing out of the ordinary. But here, teachers and textbooks aren't the only things that will make an impact on the lives of students far into the future.

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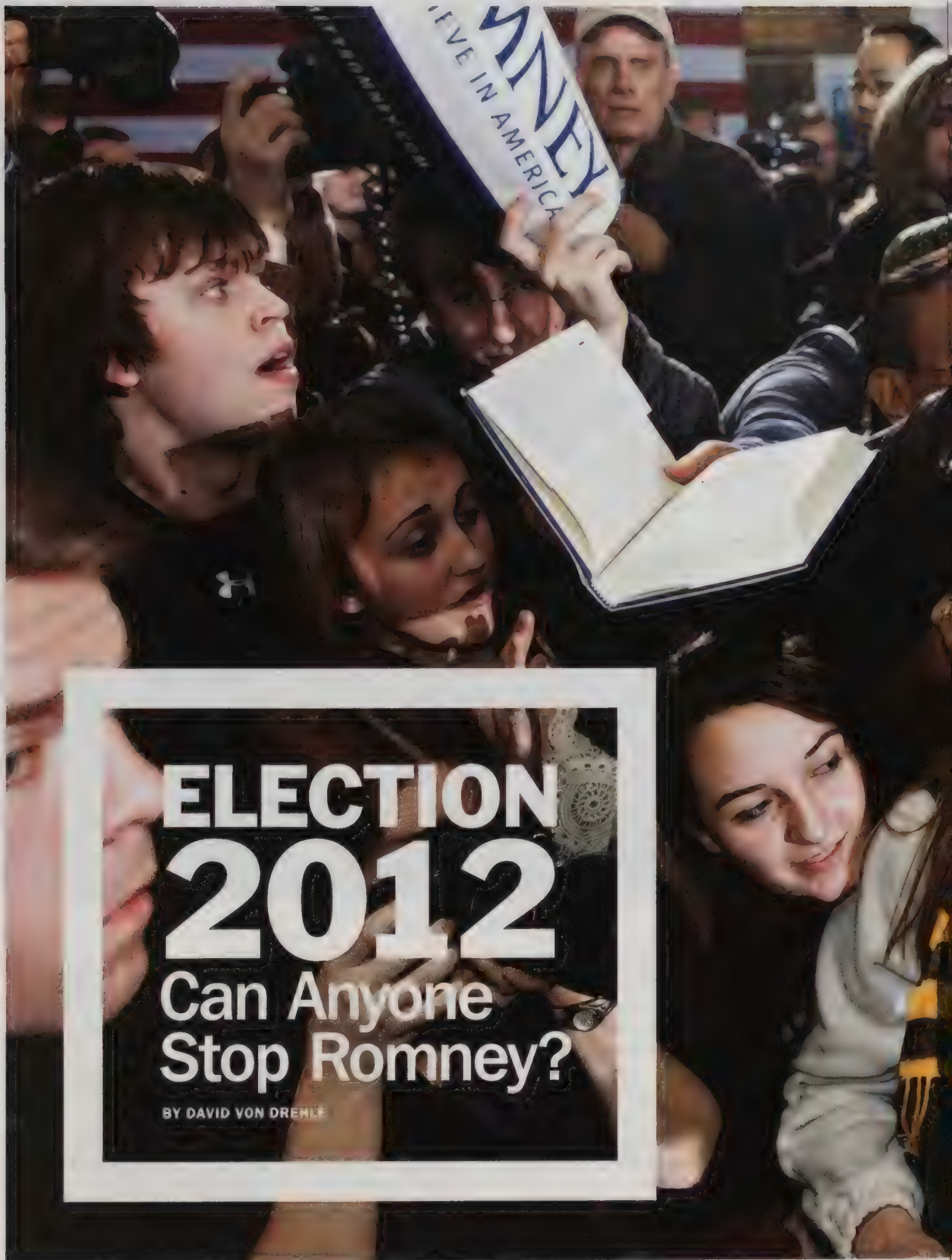


ELECTION 2012

Can Anyone Stop Romney?

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

Photographs by Lars Tunbjörk for TIME

And now for a quick finish? *The GOP establishment will rally to Romney after a long and costly year*

POLITICAL PROFESSIONALS TALK ABOUT TICKETS OUT OF THE IOWA CAUCUSES AS IF EVERYONE BOARDS THE SAME TRAIN. NOT SO.

After a photo finish in the first real voting of the 2012 Republican nomination process, the surviving candidates had very different rides awaiting them. Former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, winner on Jan. 3 by the unlikely margin of eight votes—remember that number, for it speaks volumes about Romney's situation—climbed onto the front-runner express with a tank full of money and a club car packed with very important friends.

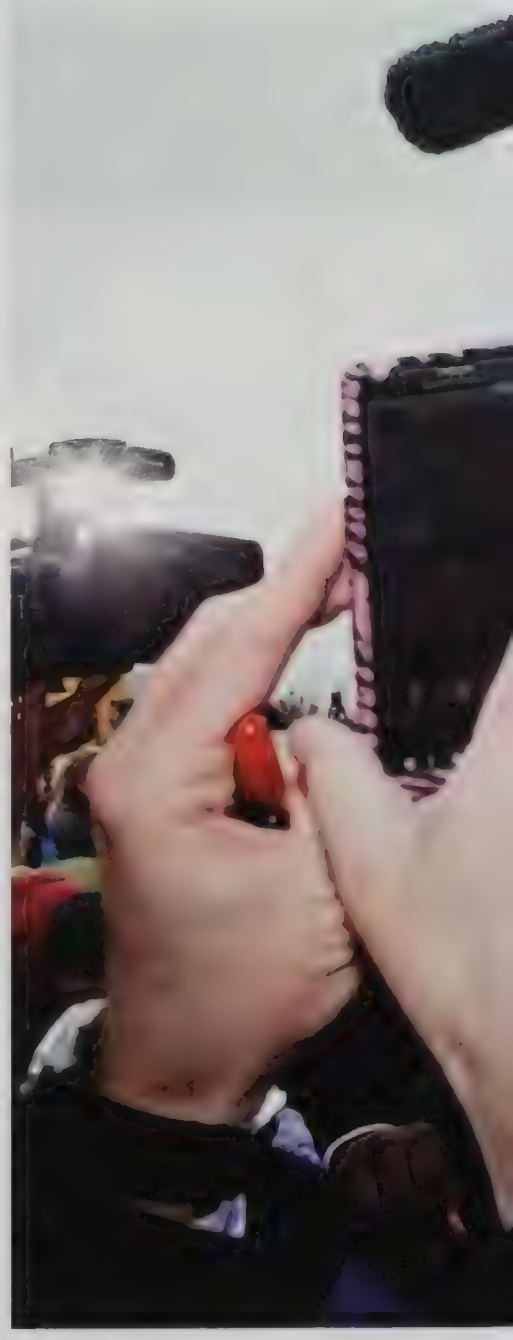
However, with 3 out of 4 participating Iowans voting for someone else, Romney may be in for a rough road ahead. Next up is New Hampshire, Romney's home away from home. He has a big lead in this state that loves to take leaders down a peg. After that, South Carolina, the conservative firewall—and Romney has never been a conservative favorite. You can read an eight-vote victory in Iowa as a sign of Romney's strength (he dashed in late in the game and won on the cheap) or as a sign of weakness (shouldn't a guy who has been running for more than five years be able to crack 25%?).

There's a lot of history to suggest that he's inevitable now, but there are also some good reasons to believe history could be rewritten this year. The wild ride of 2011—when one Republican candidate after another surged to the front only to lose a wheel or three—is not yet over. Romney's foes have a little time left to stop his relentlessly chugging locomotive.

Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum was the Cinderella story, transformed from a rounding error in the polls to a virtual tie for first place almost overnight. Iowa always crowns a Cinderella somehow, but the poor thing never seems to win that second slipper. Ask President Mike Huckabee about that. Santorum's ticket is for a pumpkin in need of some bippity-boppity magic: he's short on money, staff and supporters in the three states—New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Florida—that will make or break him in the remaining days of January.

Then there's Ron Paul, the third-place Iowa finisher who captured better than 1 in 5 caucus votes. The libertarian purist rode out of town as he rode in, on his own private track. No one can predict the course of an American politician whose idea of a victory speech includes the triumphant cry "We're all Austrians now!" For his fellow devotees of the patron saint of unregulated markets, Ludwig von Mises, that's celestial music. But as Adlai Stevenson might have said, Yes, but he needs a majority.

As for the other also-rans, they were all poll toppers at one point or another along the strange GOP path. Newt Gingrich, at 13%, promised to soldier on to New Hampshire and South Carolina, nursing a nasty grudge against Romney over a barrage of critical ads. Texas Governor Rick Perry, on the other hand, sounded relieved to be heading home to Austin after winning just 1 vote in 10 (even as he promised to hang in there a bit longer). And last, Minnesota Representative Michele Bachmann, winner of the 2011 GOP Ames straw poll, quit the race the morning after the vote. You might think this would teach America's political pundits something important about the Ames straw poll. But you already know: those people never learn.



Primogeniture, American Style

SO CAN ANYONE STOP ROMNEY? AS FIRST Bachmann, then Perry, then Herman Cain, then Gingrich, roared past him in the polls, it seemed that everyone could beat Romney, but no one has. Now the answer depends on whether the GOP, after its tempestuous Tea Party uprising, has turned a new page or is back to the same old nominate-the-next-guy story.

Photo finish
Despite the thin Iowa margin, Romney's experience, war chest and organization put him in a position to win the nomination in a few weeks

The appearance of Paul among the top three finishers certainly felt like a new story. Strange times produce strange characters, and there aren't many characters like Paul—a 76-year-old Texas ob-gyn who fits perfectly on the backbenches of Congress because he wants to lead the country in an about-face. Then the backbench would be the head of the pack. After a lifetime of being dragged behind the growing behemoth of big government, Paul would be the drum major in a parade to the past, a time before floating currencies, before the war on drugs, before the safety net, before the Fed, before the U.S. developed its expensive interest in foreign affairs and its intrusive desire to outlaw harmful medicines. How far back he would take us is hard to pinpoint—more than a century, for sure. Definitely past both Roosevelts.

The epic scale of Paul's singular vision—the impossible radicalism rather than the details—suits him this election year. Conventional candidates with plausible agendas are sufficient for ordinary times. But when economies are teetering and continents are imploding and earthquakes spawn tsunamis to wipe out nuclear reactors—well, a certain percentage of voters naturally seek something more dramatic than a payroll-tax debate.

That percentage, according to Iowa, is 21. It's a highly devoted 21%, however. Nearly half of Paul's voters are under age 30, by some accounts. They wear his gear and wave his signs and chant his name when he enters a room. At one event just before the Iowa voting, a group of Ronulans sat in the front row with P-A-U-L loudly painted on their shirts, like modest versions of the beer-guzzling lads who paint their chests at football games. One couple dressed their young son as a libertarian superhero, complete with a cape and a hat emblazoned with AUDIT THE FED.

Romney's worry is not so much that Paul will grow that tribe into a majority—not as long as Paul shrugs at Iranian nukes and gay marriage while taking the hard line against the Patriot Act and aid to Israel. The worry is that Paul will never go away. Voters drawn to him are not likely to embrace a cookie-cutter candidate like Romney as long as they have a choice. Paul can pound away with his Austrian purity—making Mitt look like a wobbly trimmer by comparison—all the way to the convention and beyond. Will he? Who knows? He tells TIME he could support Romney; he also tells TIME he wouldn't rule out a third-party bid.

Take away Paul and the story looks more familiar. Iowa produced its usual cast of characters. Romney, starring as the Favorite, has the role previously played by the likes of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. As the Surging Social Conservative, Santorum steps into the shoes of Huckabee and Pat Robertson. Gingrich and Perry are vying for the role of the Underperformer. It seems inevitable that even with Paul on the stage, Republicans will reprise their familiar script, "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Back the Front-Runner." The end result of Tea Parties, Twitter and trillion-dollar deficits may be the ho-hum re-enactment of the GOP's tried-and-true tradition of nominating the next guy in line.

Iowa always crowns a Cinderella, but the poor thing never seems to win that second slipper

That's Romney, who finished the 2008 campaign season behind John McCain, who finished in 2000 behind George W. Bush, who never had to finish behind anyone because he was the second nominee named George Bush. He ran after Bob Dole, who finished in 1988 behind the other George Bush, who finished in 1980 behind Ronald Reagan, who finished behind Gerald Ford in 1976. The House of Windsor is more unpredictable than the House of Reagan.

A Circular Firing Squad

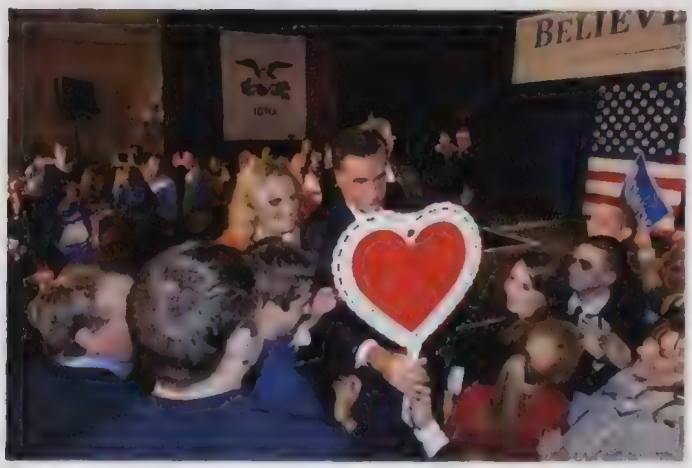
SANTORUM WOULD LOVE TO REWRITE THAT ending by picking up the anti-Romney pieces scattered in Iowa. With his strong opposition to abortion and gay marriage, he can make a plausible case that he is to the right of Massachusetts Mitt on social issues. And having surged at just the right moment (after 381 often lonely appearances in all of Iowa's 99 counties), he's in a position to bid for the supporters of popped bubbles like Perry and Bachmann.

But he will have to move fast, and it won't be easy. He has his powerful work ethic on his side: not only did he spend 100 days in Iowa, but he has also clocked more time in New Hampshire than any candidate other than Romney and former Utah governor Jon Huntsman, who has all his chips on the Granite State. He's better organized in South Carolina than his rivals realize.

On the other hand, he and Perry will have to compete with Gingrich for the anti-Romney vote, and now that he has burst from the pack, it will be his turn under the microscope that proved so unflattering to his fellow candidates. There are reasons Santorum was the last to surge. Dour and officious during debates, he lacks the charisma of Cain, the donor network of Perry and the magnetism of Bachmann. Santorum has been described as a "Tea Party kind of guy before there was a Tea Party," but he also has ties to K Street, a taste for pork and a record of supporting the kind of government expansion—including Medicare Part D and No Child Left Behind—that the Tea Party was born to resist. He lost his last race, in a swing state, by 18 points—the most by any incumbent Senator in 26 years.

To consolidate the right-wing vote, Santorum will have to eliminate Gingrich, and that may mean continuing to spend ammunition in what proved to be a circular firing squad in Iowa. The struggle to be the most conservative in the bunch left everyone wounded—but Romney perhaps least of all. "Voters have been like a little kid in an ice cream store, always distracted by the flavor of the month," says Cary Gordon, an Evangelical Sioux City pastor and Santorum supporter. Romney slipped through an interminable series of debates with few bruises as the others battled for a chance to fight him. He wasn't flashy, but he wasn't foolish either. He set out from the beginning to be the last man standing.

In the process, Romney revealed himself to be a better candidate than he was four years ago. Then, he spent $10 million on an effort to win Iowa, only to finish a distant second, after which his campaign went into a tailspin. This time he skirted the caucus until late in the game, then dashed in to snatch a win when he saw how splintered the field had become. He



Prairie politicking

Gingrich, top right, and Perry, right, flamed out—one from saying too much, the other from saying too little. Paul's supporters, above, many under 30, proved ardent and unyielding. And social conservatives split several ways, many breaking late for Santorum, top left, center. At the finish, Romney, left, prevailed by a mere eight votes

heads to New Hampshire above the fray, already talking like a nominee—Obama, Obama, Obama—and daring his remaining opponents to interrupt such a popular GOP chorus.

Romney is, in other words, ready to scale up to a national campaign. Iowa and New Hampshire spell the end of the season when a candidate like Santorum can levitate by sheer hard work. There will be no more 100-day, 381-event gradual get-to-know-yous. The remaining GOP delegates will be awarded in quick blizzards from coast to coast, heavily influenced by governors, Senators, state party chairs, county commissioners—yes, the party establishment—who have already, by some strange telepathy, settled on Romney, the next in line.

"Never forget that most of the delegates at a Republican convention, 50% to 80%, have been to conventions before," says GOP veteran Ed Rogers. "Romney's not a particular favorite of the Washington insiders," and he isn't the first choice of conservative purists. But he has been collecting those governors and those county party chairs, which means that in spite of his tie with Santorum in the first balloting, he's much closer to the 1,145 delegates needed to sew up the nomination.

Santorum will never forget the thrill and G-forces of his steep trajectory during the last days in Iowa. But can he defy gravity? He'd be the first Iowa rocket ever to do so on the Republican side.

The Iowa caucus is always less an election than a plot twist. It's a relatively small sample from a relatively square state. And its track record at picking winners is poor. What it's good for—what it has done again this year—is to focus the drama of a presidential campaign. And focus is welcome, given the rather unfocused story up to now. As he seeks to write an ending to his long fight for the nomination over the next few weeks, Romney might take a look at the collected lyrics of Paul Simon. "After changes," he wrote in "The Boxer," "we are more or less the same." —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN WITH SANTORUM, MICHAEL SCHERER WITH ROMNEY AND KATY STEINMETZ WITH PAUL ■

An unwavering focus *Romney turns every question into a discussion of the President*

How Obama Saved Romney

BY MICHAEL SCHERER/DES MOINES

Since his last campaign for President, Mitt Romney has found himself a new political guru—someone the country once rallied around, with a message Romney is now adopting as his own. It's Barack Obama, circa 2008.

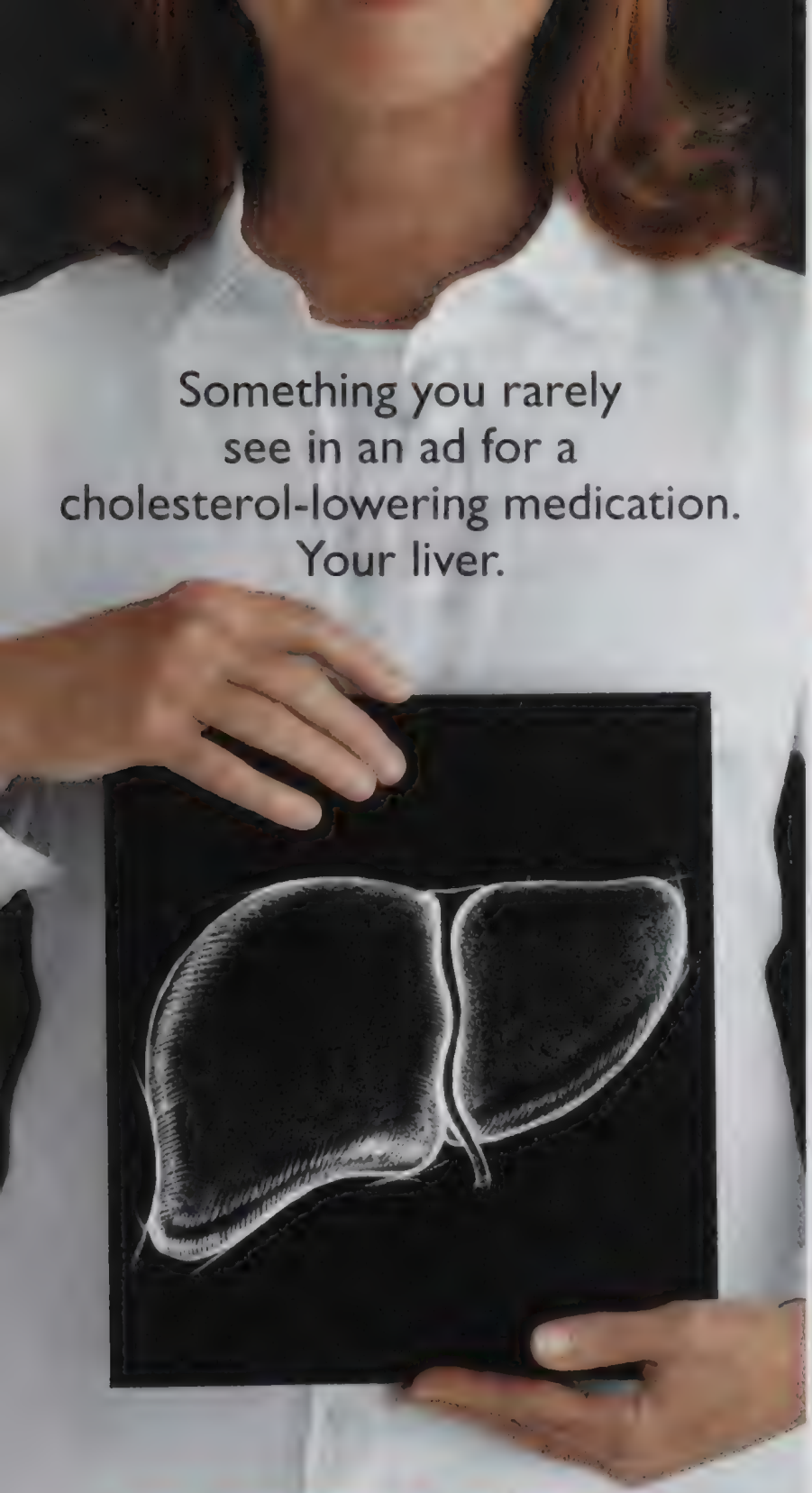
"You know, I was looking at some videotapes, on YouTube actually, looking at the President, then candidate Obama, going around Iowa about four years ago," Romney told a crowd in Clive at his last campaign rally before the state's caucuses. "He said he was going to get us working again. He talked about repairing the nation and repairing the globe, the world."

Those words neatly summarize what Romney promises to do as President. The Romney slogan, "Believe in America," is just one step removed from "Change We Can Believe In." Romney's daily calls to unleash American optimism echo Obama's mantra, "Hope." The exhortations to lift the middle class and restore America match up word for word with those of the candidate who last won the White House. Like candidate Obama, who ran as a unifying force at a time of division, Romney argues that his corporate fix-it talents are uniquely suited to this moment of economic malaise. Romney hopes to separate President Obama from the person independent voters fell in love with in 2008. As Romney said in Clive, "There's a huge gap between his promises and his performance."

The strategy solves the central problem of Romney's 2008 campaign, which never settled on a message. His initial slogan bordered on meaninglessness: "True strength for America's future." His core theme was an abstraction—"innovation and transformation"—and he cast himself as a sort of ready-made Reagan conservative for a new age, even though his past record was far more moderate. "Part of the leadership skill is to know what to focus on and what to ignore," says a senior Romney adviser who worked on the 2008 campaign. "Four years ago, he tried to focus on too many things."

This time, since the beginning, Romney has focused on a single argument. Ask him about abortion, his Massachusetts record, guns or health care and Romney will try to steer the conversation back to the White House. "Barack Obama," Romney now argues endlessly, "has failed America." At every turn, Romney plans to pin the current economic hardship squarely on Obama, glossing over the fact that the financial collapse started well before Obama took office. His campaign speaks of the "Obama misery index," is intently focused on highlighting the economic difficulties of 17 potential swing states and has prepared a slew of testimonials from unemployed Americans. "Have you been to a job fair?" asks another Romney strategist. "Please go. If John Steinbeck were alive today, he would not be voting for Barack Obama."

It is a strategy that candidate Obama almost certainly would have approved of back in 2008 for himself. The irony, of course, is that it is also a long way from where candidate Romney was in 2008. But that Romney is also a thing of the past. In 2012 the candidate has unmistakably improved. ■



Something you rarely see in an ad for a cholesterol-lowering medication. Your liver.

Select Safety Information about your liver and LIVALO.
Anyone with active liver disease should not take LIVALO.
Your doctor should do blood tests to monitor your liver function before starting LIVALO, and then at 12 weeks following the start of LIVALO, after any increase in dose, and periodically (e.g., every 6 months) thereafter.

You might be aware that cholesterol is made in the liver. But did you know approximately 75% of all drugs processed in the body share a common metabolic pathway in the liver? When drugs that share this pathway are taken together or with other drugs that affect this pathway, a drug interaction may occur.

LIVALO® (pitavastatin) reduces your cholesterol, but it's not dependent on this pathway in order to be processed. Why is this important? Because knowing how drugs are processed in the body may help avoid certain interactions.

To learn more about potential drug interactions that may occur with LIVALO or other medications, talk to your doctor and ask whether LIVALO may be right for you.

What is LIVALO?

- LIVALO is a prescription medicine that, along with diet, has been approved for the treatment of high cholesterol. LIVALO has not been studied to evaluate its effect on reducing heart-related disease or death.

Drug Interactions with LIVALO

- If you are taking cyclosporine, you should not take LIVALO.
- Caution should be taken when using LIVALO in combination with other cholesterol drugs like niacin and fibrates, as this may increase your risk of serious muscle problems.
- Some drugs, like erythromycin and rifampin, may lead to drug interactions requiring a lower maximum daily dose of LIVALO, when used in combination.

Important Safety Information for LIVALO® (pitavastatin) Tablets

Who should NOT take LIVALO?

LIVALO is not right for everyone, including:

- Those who have had an allergic reaction to LIVALO
- Anyone with active liver disease
- Women who are nursing, pregnant, or who may become pregnant
- Anyone currently taking cyclosporine

What should I talk to my doctor about?

- If you take LIVALO, tell your doctor right away if you experience any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by fever or a general feeling of discomfort. This could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect.
- Your doctor should do blood tests to monitor your liver function before starting LIVALO, and then at 12 weeks following the start of LIVALO, after any increase in dose, and periodically (e.g., every 6 months) thereafter.
- Please talk to your doctor about your alcohol use.
- Tell your doctor about all the medications you take including nonprescription medicines, vitamins, or herbal supplements.

What are the most common side effects of LIVALO?

The most common side effects of LIVALO in clinical studies were:

- Back pain
- Constipation
- Diarrhea
- Muscle pain
- Pain in the legs or arms

This is not a complete list of side effects.

Other Important Information about LIVALO

- LIVALO has not been studied to evaluate its effect on reducing heart-related disease or death.
- LIVALO is available by prescription only.

Please see the accompanying Brief Summary or the Full Prescribing Information available at www.LivaloRx.com.

PS73370 LIV-RA-0032 8/2011

What else should I know about LIVALO?

- LIVALO can be taken with or without food. It's even okay to continue drinking grapefruit juice.
- LIVALO is available in 1-mg, 2-mg, and 4-mg doses.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.
Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Livalo®
(pitavastatin) tablets

Visit www.LivaloRx.com to download a voucher for a free 30-day trial of LIVALO.

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PS73586 LIV-MT-0159

Kowa Lilly

LIVALO® (pitavastatin) tablets (LIV-ah-lo) – Consumer Brief Summary Information.

Information for Patients about LIVALO® (pitavastatin) tablets:
Please read this information carefully before you, or your family member, start taking LIVALO and each time your prescription is refilled in case anything has changed or new information has become available. This information is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare provider. Talk with your healthcare provider or pharmacist if there is something you do not understand or if you want to learn more about LIVALO. Always follow your healthcare provider's instructions for taking LIVALO.

What is LIVALO?
- LIVALO is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called "statins".
- LIVALO, along with diet, lowers, total cholesterol, "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C) and triglycerides. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).
- The effect of LIVALO on cardiovascular morbidity and mortality has not been determined.

What is the most important information I should know about LIVALO?
- Muscle Problems called myopathy and rhabdomyolysis may occur at any time. Muscle problems may increase with higher doses, as you get older, with kidney or some thyroid problems, and when LIVALO is used with some other medications.
- Liver tests may become abnormal. Your doctor should do liver tests before you start and while you are taking LIVALO.

Who should NOT take LIVALO?
- Anyone known to be allergic or hypersensitive to LIVALO or any of its ingredients.
- Anyone who has active liver problems, this may include some unexplained, abnormal liver test results.
- Women who are pregnant or may become pregnant, or are nursing mothers.
- Anyone who is taking cyclosporine.

What are the possible side effects of LIVALO?
Serious side effects may include:
- **Muscle problems** may be an early sign of a rare problem that could lead to serious kidney problems.
  Call your doctor right away if you have any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by fever or a general feeling of discomfort.
- **Liver problems** may occur. Your doctor should do liver tests before you start and while you are taking LIVALO.

Common side effects include:
- Back pain
- Constipation
- Diarrhea
- Muscle aches and pains
- Pain in the legs or arms

This is not a complete list of side effects of LIVALO. Talk to your health care professional for a complete list.

Can other medications affect your treatment with LIVALO?
Yes, other medications may affect LIVALO, you should consult with your doctor if you take any of the following:
- Erythromycin
- Rifampin
- Other drugs for high cholesterol (i.e., fibrates, niacin)

What should I tell my doctor before taking LIVALO?
Tell your doctor if you:
- are allergic to LIVALO or any of its ingredients (You may get a full list of ingredients from your doctor or pharmacist.)
- are pregnant, think you are pregnant, are planning to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding.
- are having or have been told you have active liver or kidney disease.
- are taking other medications. Discuss all medication, both prescription and over-the-counter, with your doctor.
- consume alcoholic beverages.

How should I store and take LIVALO?
- Store LIVALO at room temperature, in a dry place, protected from light, and keep out of the reach of children.
- LIVALO can be taken at any time of day, with or without food.
- Swallow the tablet whole. Do not split, crush, dissolve, or chew.
- If you take too much LIVALO or you or someone else takes an overdose, call your doctor and/or local Poison Control Center.

The information provided is not complete. Please see the Full Prescribing Information available at www.LivaloRx.com.

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LIVALO® (pitavastatin) tablets
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To read Joe's blog posts, go to **time.com/swampland**

The Passion of Rick Santorum

How the former Senator will complicate Mitt Romney's march to the nomination

By Joe Klein

AFTER A VERY LONG night and a dead-heat tie in the Iowa caucuses, Rick Santorum and Mitt Romney made speeches. Romney's was unexceptional. It was a version of his stump speech, filled with political emotion—he quoted, as always, from "America the Beautiful"—but bereft of personal feeling. Santorum's speech, however, was very personal. He talked about his grandfather, the Italian immigrant who became a Pennsylvania coal miner. He talked about kneeling at his grandfather's coffin as a child, looking at his gnarled hands, "enormous hands ... those hands dug freedom for me."

It was a lovely moment, and perhaps a defining one for Santorum as a candidate for President—the first time a significant number of Americans (at least those political junkies who stayed up late) had seen him as something more than the young-looking guy down at the end of the stage in debates. In that moment he seemed the spirit incarnate of the emerging Republican Party: working class, populist, devout, passionate to the point of intemperance on a range of issues, very much the antithesis of Romney.

Santorum was not well liked by his colleagues in Congress. He was seen as brash, whiny, intense, puerile. A fellow Senator once said, "*Santorum* is Latin for [posterior orifice]." He can still be obnoxious on the stump. He once blamed the Catholic sex-abuse scandal in Massachusetts on the "academic, political and cultural liberalism" in Boston. He has made brutal remarks about homosexuality as a threat to American morality. A few days before the caucuses, he said, "I don't want to make black people's lives better by giving them somebody else's money. I want to give them the opportunity to go out and earn the money." (Presumably, though, he would have to use "somebody else's money" for the sort of program, like the GI Bill, that enabled a generation of coal miners' children to go to college.) He can be dangerously simplistic on foreign policy, the only candidate who has baldly said he would bomb Iran's nuclear facilities.

But Rick Santorum is more than the sum of his prejudices. Unlike a great many other political loudmouths, he lives his faith. I got to know Santorum and his wife Karen about 15 years ago, when we had several intense conversations about the death, in childbirth, of their son Gabriel. Karen nearly died from septic shock, but she refused to have an induced birth—an abortion, in effect. In retrospect, she admitted to me that she wasn't thinking clearly; she had three other children at home. But the Senator abided by her wishes to go through with a regular delivery. After Karen miscarried, the Santorums brought the dead child home overnight so their other children could see that he was "a beautiful, tiny little baby," Santorum told me. Subsequently, Karen gave birth to a girl with a severe congenital birth defect. Standing behind their father on the Iowa podium, six Santorum children—all of them homeschooled—wore buttons with a picture of their beloved 3-year-old sister. They are a remarkable family.

Last man standing *The anti-Romney vote, up for grabs all year, broke late for Santorum, a former Pennsylvania Senator*

Santorum is also more than the sum of his positions on social issues. In the contest to come, he will pose a significant working-class challenge to Romney's corporate conservatism. Santorum opposed the Wall Street bailout, and he worries about the Romney style of private-equity capitalism that has cost so many factory jobs. He has proposed eliminating the corporate tax on manufacturing. In his Iowa speech, he spoke about why he would tax retail operations at a higher rate than manufacturing. "Walmart isn't moving to China," he said. A real debate on these issues between Romney and Santorum could be valuable and enlightening.

Romney is still the over- whelming favorite for the Republican nomination. He has the scenario he wanted. The two greatest threats to his candidacy—Newt Gingrich and Rick Perry—were trounced in Iowa. But there is a subtler threat to Romney's long-term prospects: he remains an unloved front runner who may not inspire sufficient numbers of Republicans to come out and vote. In 2008, with the party demoralized after eight years of George W. Bush, about 120,000 Iowans attended the Republican caucuses. In 2012, with the party half crazed over Barack Obama's presidency, about 120,000 Iowans turned out—including fewer Republicans, because of the large numbers of independents who came to vote for Ron Paul.

With Gingrich on a kamikaze mission to destroy Romney, Santorum stands as the only possible antidote to the GOP's passion gap. He may not win the nomination, but he has already won a good deal—the respect that attends a campaign, and a life, that has been honorably waged. ■

LARS TUNBJÖRK FOR TIME

Origin story *The ANC was born in the church hall to the right. Now the party is spending millions to renovate its history*

Photograph by Benedicte Kurzen for TIME

How the ANC Lost Its Way

The legendary liberation movement celebrates its centenary, but the party of Mandela has done far too little for a still divided South Africa

BY ALEX PERRY/BLOEMFONTEIN

IT HAS BEEN EXACTLY 99 YEARS AND 11 months since the world's most storied liberation movement, the African National Congress, was born, and I am looking for its birthplace. In Bloemfontein, the old Boer capital on South Africa's central prairie, a white tourist-information officer points me to a building on the edge of town called Maphikela House—after Thomas Maphikela, who built it and who helped found the ANC. "I've never been there myself," the information officer says. "It's a township." Then she pulls out a map and circles another part of town that I am to avoid. "Dangerous," she says. She means "black people."

On Jan. 8, thousands of ANC supporters and 46 heads of state descend on Bloemfontein to celebrate the party's centenary. I've come early to explore the origins of the organization that gave the world Nelson Mandela and laid the foundations of

From Outlaws to Authorities. How the ANC rose and how it has ruled

MAY 31, 1910 The Union of South Africa Act establishes a united South Africa as a British dominion but reserves political rights for whites

▲ **JAN. 8, 1912** The South African Native National Congress—SANNC, later shortened to African National Congress, or ANC—is founded by black South Africans in the township of Waalhoek, Bloemfontein, to fight for black rights

JUNE 4, 1948 The pro-Afrikaner National Party is elected and begins instituting apartheid

MARCH 21, 1960 Police shoot 69 black protesters dead at Sharpeville, outside Johannesburg

JUNE 1961 At Nelson Mandela's urging, the ANC decides to launch an armed struggle

▲ **JUNE 12, 1964** Mandela and other ANC leaders are jailed for life. They are transferred to **Robben Island**, off Cape Town

SEPT. 12, 1977 Activist Stephen Biko dies in police custody, becoming a martyr to the antiapartheid movement, which had begun to destabilize white rule since the Soweto uprisings in June 1976

▶ **MARCH 1980** The ANC personalizes its campaign around Mandela and the slogan "Free Nelson Mandela"

modern South Africa—and Africa—by inspiring the overthrow of centuries of colonialism and racist deprivation.

At least that's ANC legend. I'm in Bloemfontein to measure that against reality. Because while South Africa has seen steady economic growth in the 17 years after apartheid, it has also experienced an abiding racial divide. That partition is expressed in enduring prejudice on both sides and persistent economic segregation. Remarkably, income inequality rose after apartheid ended: redistribution programs have mainly benefited a politically connected elite. Most whites and a few blacks live in the first world. But out of a total population of 50 million, 8.7 million South Africans, most of them black, earn $1.25 or less a day. Millions live in the same township shacks, travel in the same crowded minibuses (called taxis in South Africa) and, if they have jobs, work in the same white-owned homes and businesses they did under apartheid—all while coping with some of the world's worst violent crime and its biggest HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The ANC blames apartheid's legacy and, as party spokesman Keith Khoza describes it, "the reluctance of business to come to the party." But 17 years is almost a generation. The government's failure to transform South Africa from a country of black and white into a "rainbow nation," in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's phrase, means black poverty is still the key political issue. A second, related one, however, is the ANC's dramatic loss of moral authority. At 93, Mandela is still among the most admired people on earth. But his party has become synonymous with failure—and not coincidentally, arrogance, infighting and corruption. Tutu, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate and, at 80, still the nation's moral conscience, encapsulated South African political debate last year when he came out of retirement to give two speeches. In the first he asked whites to pay a wealth tax in recognition of their persistent advantage. In the second he called the ANC "worse than the apartheid government."

Africa is littered with liberation movements that, upon victory, forgot the people in whose name they fought. That era is coming to an end as the continent becomes more democratic and prosperous. The International Monetary Fund says seven of the world's 10 fastest growing economies are African, despite holdovers like Zimbabwe. Is South Africa, the continent's economic and political powerhouse, a gateway to this bright future or a window on its unhappy past?

Across the Tracks

THE SHORT DRIVE TO MAPHIKELA HOUSE crosses South Africa's divide. I start in leafy all-white suburbs, home to cafés, bookstores and the Hobbit Boutique Hotel, modeled on the fantasies of Bloemfontein's most famous son, J.R.R. Tolkien. Then I cross a railway track, and I'm in the township: no trees, full of potholes and all black. Where my tourist map indicates Maphikela House should be is instead an abandoned warehouse, the windows smashed, graffiti by its broken door announcing THUG MANSION.

The local metropolitan authority says unemployment is 56%, and 59% of those with jobs earn $100 or less a month. Hanging out on a corner opposite Thug Mansion is Tumelo Lekhooe, 20, who was out of work for a year after school before finding a job as a street sweeper. "The ANC is full of corruption," he says. "There are no good roads here, no parks, good schools or jobs. The ANC use connections to win government tenders, then spend the money on themselves."

Lekhooe is describing a phenomenon in postapartheid South Africa: the growth of the tenderpreneur. The term describes those who get rich from government contracts or from dispensing them for kickbacks. Tenderpreneurs have turned government into a business. The national Special Investigating Unit, which targets corruption, reckons that up to a quarter of annual state spending—$3.8 billion—is wasted through overpayment and graft. The Auditor General says a third of all government departments have awarded contracts to companies owned by officials or their families; in December it found that three-quarters of all tenders in one ANC-ruled province, the Eastern Cape, rewarded officials in this way. Those being investigated for suspected corruption include two ministers, the country's top policeman and the head of the ANC's Youth League, Julius Malema. (All deny the charges.)

Tenderpreneurs are just one chapter in the saga of ANC scandals. There are the perks, like the $550 million the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) claims ministers

FROM LEFT: ARCHIV GERSTENBERG; ULLSTEIN BILD/GRANGER COLLECTION; GAMMA-EYEDEA PRESSE; RADI SIDHEI—REUTERS

▲ **FEB. 11, 1990** Mandela is freed from prison

MAY 10, 1994 Mandela becomes South Africa's first democratically elected President

1999 The ANC-ruled South African government signs $4.8 billion arms contracts; allegations of massive corruption follow

▼ **JUNE 14, 1999** Thabo Mbeki succeeds Mandela as President

DECEMBER 2007 Despite being sacked as Vice President in 2005 by Mbeki after being charged with corruption and tried (and acquitted) for rape, Jacob Zuma replaces Mbeki as ANC leader. He then forces Mbeki from office in September 2008 and is inaugurated as President in May 2009

▶ **DECEMBER 2012** Zuma is expected to face a leadership challenge at the ANC conference from ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema

and their wives have spent on themselves since 2009. There is the state security minister whose wife was convicted of running an international drug ring, and the local government minister who used public money to fly first class to Switzerland to visit his girlfriend, also in prison for narcotics. There is the previous police chief, jailed for 15 years for taking bribes from the mob. And there is a corrupt $4.8 billion European arms deal that has haunted the ANC leadership since it was agreed to in 1999.

South African President Jacob Zuma declined to be interviewed for this article, but he can be candid about the ANC's poor record. "I have traveled to many parts of the country in recent months, monitoring the performance of government," he said at a business breakfast in Cape Town in November. "I come face to face with the triple scourge of poverty, inequality and unemployment." Zuma has taken action, however. He has sacked two ministers, suspended a raft of top officials, including the police chief, and set up an independent inquiry into the arms deal. He appropriated all the duties of a corrupt and inept ANC state government in Limpopo and dispatched his own officials to improve two more. He has already delivered one spectacular success to confound the skeptics: the 2010 soccer World Cup, the world's biggest sporting event, which went off with barely a hitch.

Zuma also has a vision of how to mend the government. In November he published a 19-year national plan that identified the nation's priorities as "corruption, divided communities, too few jobs, crumbling infrastructure, resource intensive economy, exclusive planning, poor education, high disease burden, public service [that is] uneven." By 2030, it pledges to have created 11 million jobs, built two more universities and several railway lines, privatized power, made private business illegal for bureaucrats, deployed up to 1.3 million community health workers and facilitated the installation of 5 million solar heaters. The plan is meant to inspire a party made complacent by a consistent two-thirds electoral majority. "We are too strong," Zuma told TIME in 2009, soon after becoming President. "You take things for granted."

'I don't know why we still vote for them. It's our grandparents. They say we are here only because of the ANC.'

—TUMELO LEKHOOE, A 20-YEAR-OLD STREET SWEEPER IN BLOEMFONTEIN

It sounds impressive. Worryingly, that may be precisely the idea. "Eleven million jobs by 2030?" asks a Western diplomat in Pretoria. "Great. Excellent. From where?" After all, Zuma has made similar commitments before. In June 2009 he promised 4 million jobs by 2014—ambitious then, unreachable now. He also pledged 80% coverage of antiretroviral treatment by 2011 (unlikely, given UNAIDS's figure of 25% for 2010) and an annual 7% to 10% annual cut in serious crime (against an actual 2011–12 fall of 5.75%). Critics say his purges of officials are less about corruption or ineptness than political vendettas.

Zuma himself is tainted by charges of corruption. He was linked to the arms deal through one of his financial advisers, who was jailed in 2005 for trying to solicit bribes on his behalf. Since Zuma was elected, the DA says the state has spent $50 million on refurbishing his homes. Tellingly, Zuma goes after those who would check his behavior. In November the ANC-led Parliament passed a law known as the "secrecy bill," which penalizes whistle-blowers or journalists in possession of secret documents and allows no public-interest defense. He has installed unqualified allies in top positions across the justice system. Meanwhile, internal party politicking, particularly Zuma's rivalry with Malema, has overshadowed government, something that will only increase in the run-up to a party conference in Bloemfontein in December at which Zuma is running for re-election as ANC President. "For the next 12 months, nobody will be running the country," says Fiona Forde, author of *An Inconvenient Youth*, about Malema.

Mythmaking

WITH SUCH AN UNDERWHELMING RECORD in office, how does the ANC win elections? By invoking its legend. The centenary celebrations, like so many other ANC events,

FROM LEFT: TREVOR SAMSON; AFP/GETTY IMAGES; GREG MARINOVICH/GETTY IMAGES; AMY GORDON; GREG MARINOVICH

The revolution's children
Like many in Bloemfontein, Patricia, 27, near left, voices dissatisfaction about the ANC

hammer home how much black South Africans owe the party. Using such a "powerful legacy" only makes electoral sense, concedes DA leader Helen Zille. "When you've fought a liberation struggle and suffered so much and a party is perceived to have given you back your dignity, that party becomes who you are. How are you going to turn your back on that?" On his street corner, Lekhooe says, "I don't know why we still vote for them," then corrects himself. "It's our grandparents. They say we are here only because of the ANC."

Zille based her last general election campaign on the message that the ANC betrayed Mandela's legacy. But how real is that inheritance? The central figure in ANC legend is Mandela, who reinvigorated the party in the 1940s and eventually led it to power in 1994. But as Mandela recounts in his autobiography, his transformation from rebel leader to global icon was, in part, a piece of imagemaking by the ANC. In 1980, after nearly four decades of fighting a regime that had not moved an inch, the party tried a new publicity strategy: personalizing its campaign with the slogan "Free Nelson Mandela." It was wildly effective. The slogan found its way onto T-shirts and posters around the world, even into a pop song. But as it tends to, such mythmaking also distorted reality, not least in regard to Mandela's failing marriage to Winnie. "She married a man who soon left her, that man became a myth, and then that myth returned home and proved to be just a man after all," Mandela wrote in *Long Walk to Freedom*.

His remarkable ability to emerge from prison with forgiveness for his persecutors was a genuine wonder that averted a looming race war—and, for many, validated his myth. But if his reputation was merely enhanced, his party's was whitewashed. At the time that the ANC was becoming an international cause célèbre, a 1984 internal party inquiry—the Stuart Commission—found that the ANC's training camps in Angola were "autocratic," "corrupt" and sadistic, run through a mix of torture, rape and execution. "There was a lot of corruption, a lot of thuggery," says Forde of the party's years in exile, pointing also to alliances with African leaders such as Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. "You see that coming to the fore again."

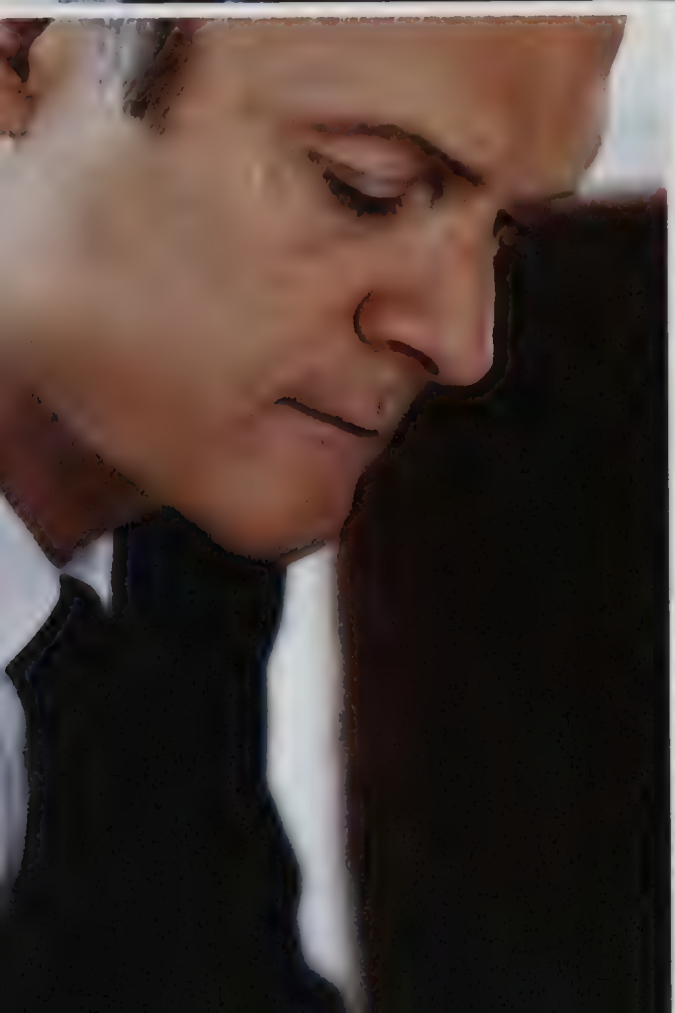
In Bloemfontein, corruption and mythmaking have combined for the ANC's birthday party. When I eventually find Maphikela House—a grand red-brick place with two stories and a porch—the old lady who lives there directs me instead to a second building in another rundown neighborhood closer to town. In 1992, Mandela celebrated the ANC's 80th anniversary at Maphikela House. But in 2002, National Museum historian Hannes Haasbroek discovered that the house was built in 1926, 14 years after the ANC was formed, and the party's true birthplace was a former Wesleyan church hall a few miles away, since converted into an auto-body-repair shop. Unperturbed by this uprooting and relocating of its nativity fable, the ANC city authority promptly bought the bare-brick, wood-frame, tin-roof building and began fixing it up—at a total taxpayer cost of $4 million. Bloemfontein DA leader Roy Jankielsohn accuses the party of an "abuse of state resources." ANC spokesman Khoza denies corruption and insists the party is paying the bulk of the centenary costs. But he sees nothing wrong with using state money to preserve the party's history. "The ANC should be treated as part of our collective heritage as a nation," he says.

With such an underwhelming record in office, how does the ANC win elections? By invoking its legend

As the Arab Spring showed, ruling parties that fail to distinguish their interests from those of the nation may also not spot their approaching fall. And the signs of the ANC's decline are there. The party is fragmented. Its support peaked at 69% at elections in 2004 and fell to 61% at local elections in 2011. And in December it lost three previously safe seats in local by-elections. Meanwhile, the DA is growing. Its support rose from 1.7% in a general election in 1996 to 16.7% in 2009, when it also took Western Cape province, and to 23.8% in 2011. Zille says her ambition is to take two more provinces in the next general election in 2014 and the government in 2019. Like any other politician, she wants power. But she insists that removing the ANC is essential if South Africa is to finally enjoy genuine democracy. "Loyalty is a great trait, but if you are to hold political leaders to account, you can't be loyal to a political party," she says.

In a previous life, Zille was an anti-apartheid journalist. Her ultimate goal, she says, is to make good on Tutu's vision of a Technicolor nation. But in South Africa's black-and-white present, Zille is only too aware that she has a "melanin deficit." Hence moves by the DA to recruit to its leadership a black-struggle legend of its own: Mamphela Ramphele, a former World Bank managing director and long-standing ANC critic. If the name is unfamiliar, that's because Ramphele never married her partner: Steve Biko. ■

BENEDICT KURTEN FOR TIME



"WHEN YOU DON'T HAVE AN ARGUMENT AGAINST FAIR TAXATION, YOU COME UP WITH A SLOGAN. CLASS WARFARE."

- Lawrence O'Donnell

LEAN FORWARD

LAWRENCE O'DONNELL, msnbc host

msnbc

Tebow's Testimony

What his faith on the field means for the future of American Evangelicalism

By Jon Meacham

Each one of us has received a special gift in proportion to what Christ has given ... He appointed some to be apostles, others to be prophets, others to be evangelists, others to be pastors and teachers.
—Ephesians 4: 7 and 11

And he appointed yet others, it turns out, to be quarterbacks. Tim Tebow has always wanted two things: to be right with Jesus in heaven and to lead a football team to glory on the field. When he was 6 years old, in the early 1990s, he began to worry about going to hell. He wanted to accept Jesus as his personal Saviour—the Evangelical key to salvation. But when he went to his father, who was a missionary and preacher, he found himself frustrated by questions his father asked him about the Gospel—questions posed, Tebow recalls, "to make sure I was not taking this decision lightly." Finally, young Tebow went to his mother. "I want to ask Jesus to come into my heart," he told her. "I'm ready to be saved. I tried with Dad, but he's just too hard." Mother and son prayed together, and the confession of faith was made. To celebrate, the family went to Epcot.

A consummately American story: the fear of death, the hope of heaven and a trip to Disney. This season, with each cliff-hanging win or dismal loss for the Denver Broncos, Tebow, an active, professing Evangelical Christian, has used his gifts and his position as quarterback to create a powerful 21st century witness for Jesus. There is nothing new about the strange intersection of Christianity and football: fans waved JOHN 3: 16 placards long before Tebow etched the citation in his eye black. The re-enactment of the ancient rituals of pain and victory, of comebacks and upsets, has always evoked biblical stories like that of David and Goliath. What is new and what makes Tebow an intriguing figure—no matter how the Broncos do in the playoffs they just barely made—is the scale and scope of his witness. With Billy Graham on the cool side of the mountain and George W. Bush living quietly in Dallas, Tebow is perhaps the most significant Evangelical Christian in the country. Depending on your point of view, his rise is a thoroughly American story of honest conviction or of ostentatious piety, of faith and family or of aggressive sectarianism.

TEBOW'S WITNESS IS THE LATEST CHAPTER in a decades-old Evangelical movement to transform America. Drawing on images from the Gospel of Matthew, leaders from theologian Francis Schaeffer to Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ to televangelist Jerry Falwell have summoned believers to be ministers of "salt and light." The common shorthand is "You are the salt of the earth; you are the light of the world." To be salt is to be engaged in the world, confronting the culture; to be light is to preach the Gospel message, winning souls and building churches. Tebow's Baptist missionary father Bob is very much a part of this Evangelical movement. On the day the senior Tebow began to pray for a son, he was showing *The Jesus Film*—a Bill Bright creation—to potential converts in the Philippines.

Tebow's personal story is mythic. His mother was advised to seek an abortion early in her pregnancy with Tim. It has become part of Tebow lore that when he was safely delivered, despite a barely attached placenta, doctors called it a miracle. Like his four siblings, Tebow was homeschooled. No TV until they had memorized Scripture; no discussing their many sports victories unless someone asked about them. Through high school and college, he divided his time between football and ministry. He was so hotly recruited in high school, he was the subject of an ESPN documentary called "The Chosen One." At the University of Florida, he led fellow students in weekly Bible studies; preached in prisons, schools and hospitals; ushered

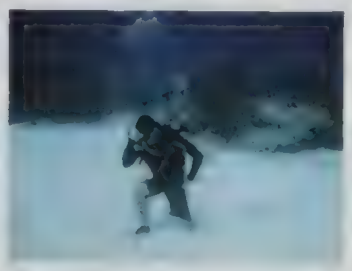
TEBOW: LOUIS LOPEZ—CAL SPORT MEDIA/ZUMA PRESS

Illustration by Joe Magee for TIME

Tebowing Round the World. The star's signature prayer pose strikes again

Summit of Mount Kilimanjaro

Paktika province, Afghanistan



Cozumel, Mexico

Western Wall, Jerusalem

Parthenon, Athens

Royal Pyramids of Meroë, Sudan

Riyadh

Cape Reinga, New Zealand

the team to a national championship; and won the Heisman Trophy.

With the Broncos this year, he led the team to a series of dazzling fourth-quarter victories before ending the regular season with three consecutive losses. The run of last-minute triumphs catapulted Tebow to even broader fame beyond the world of sports. At the 2010 National Prayer Breakfast in Washington, Tebow offered the closing prayer: "Thank you for bringing together so many people that have a platform to influence people for you." *Platform* is a big word with Tebow: it comes up again and again in his public remarks and in his memoir *Through My Eyes*. Tebow is onto something. The preaching of the Gospel—the living of the Gospel—is moving from pulpit to platform, from church to culture. The next Billy Graham, if there could be such a thing, may come not from the ranks of traditional preachers or ministers but from sports or entertainment. If the measure of evangelistic activity is the number of eyes and ears one reaches, then Tebow is possibly a much more influential Christian messenger than any active Protestant cleric. When Tebow put JOHN 3: 16 in his eye black during a University of Florida game, he set off 92 million Google searches for the Scripture reference. His Twitter feed—full of Bible verses and his signature symbol, GB^2 (God Bless + Go Broncos = GB^2)—spreads an Evangelical message to some 800,000 followers, as his Facebook page does to 1.3 million subscribers.

And no matter what happens in the playoffs, he is now a verb. To Tebow is to get down on one knee and start praying even if everyone else around you is doing something completely different. People have Tebowed at weddings and on Afghan mountaintops. In December four Long Island high school students were suspended after 40 other students joined them in Tebowing on campus. (Administration officials deemed it a safety hazard.)

There is also the inevitable backlash. The like-minded (or like-cultured) adore him. Bill Maher and *Saturday Night Live* don't. Maher tweeted "Wow, Jesus just f---ed #TimTebow bad! And on Xmas Eve!" after the Broncos lost to Buffalo last month. *SNL* put on a sketch featuring Jesus pleading with the Broncos to "meet me halfway out there." Within moments, the Fox News Channel and the usual conservative suspects fired back, and so on and so on, world without end. A self-described virgin, Tebow inspired an Orlando radio station to launch a "Get Tebow Laid" campaign. Between the "I Hate Tim Tebow" Facebook pages and Tebowhaters.com, the hostility toward Tebow's overt religiosity is viral.

This cultural Passion play of red-state piety and blue-state scorn is at once familiar and dispiriting. If Christians like Tebow are going to bear witness so publicly, then they ought not to be surprised when they are talked about in ways that require them to turn the other cheek. To insist that criticism of Tebow—even vulgar criticism—is evidence that American culture is hostile to Christianity is wrong-headed. At the same time, secularists who take shots at believers need to remember that the American tradition of religious liberty protects those who profess a faith as well as those who do not. I sometimes wonder whether we are the new Greeks and Trojans, perpetuating a long war more out of habit than necessity.

JESUS NEVER PLAYED FOOTBALL AND IS NOT known to have ever worked out. (He didn't even swim, preferring to walk on water.) The perennial appeal of sports to deeply believing Christians, though, is undeniable. Part of the reason for this affinity may lie in the sense of drama that religion and sports share. For athletes, life is to be lived before an audience, according to precise rules and prescribed ritual. The rush of performance—especially of a victorious performance—is thrilling and transporting in the way religious feeling can be, taking the believer-athlete out of the ordinary world to a different, higher plane.

A favorite verse of Tebow's will serve him well in the brutal world of football: "Forgetting what lies behind and reaching forward to what lies ahead," writes St. Paul, "I press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of Christ Jesus." Whenever and however the Broncos' postseason ends, their young quarterback has already given us a glimpse of what lies ahead for Evangelical Christianity and for America.

—WITH REPORTING BY ELIZABETH DIAS AND SEAN GREGORY ■

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WORLD

The Wisdom Of Queens

For 60 years, Elizabeth II has been a model of propriety and duty. Five things Kate can learn from her

BY SALLY BEDELL SMITH

Few remember now, but the regally wrinkled Queen Elizabeth II was once called the World's Sweetheart. Trained for her role from birth by her parents and various tutors, she walked onto the world stage at age 25 fully equipped to do honor to her post. Kate Middleton, now the Duchess of Cambridge, entered the spotlight without a lifetime of preparation, but she seems open to learning how to play her part.

During Elizabeth's 60 years on the throne—the longest reign in the 1,000-year history of the British monarchy, save for Queen Victoria's—she has evolved from ingenue to wise grandmother. To maintain her unique status—what Tony Blair, the 10th of her 12 Prime Ministers, called "a symbol of unity in a world of insecurity"—the Queen learned to keep a delicate balance. If she appeared too mysterious and distant, she would lose her bond with her subjects; if she seemed too much like everyone else, she would lose her mystique.

At a time when leaders of institutions public and private typically come and go every six years or so, the Queen has lasted 10 times that long. She has preserved her aura by not giving interviews to the media and by being careful not to engage too much in her informal exchanges with people, allowing her words to escape like wisps of vapor. After decades in the public eye, she is like a Rorschach test, leaving others to form their impressions of her. They were not uniformly warm: the Queen's cautious approach failed in the week after the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, when she was harshly criticized for remaining in the Scottish Highlands and issuing a brief statement rather than returning to London immediately to comfort more than a million mourners who poured into the city. But she recovered by giving a compassionate televised speech, talking to grieving women outside Buckingham Palace and bowing to Diana's coffin in the funeral procession.

When Elizabeth took the throne on Feb. 6, 1952, it was a gentler era. Television was in its infancy. Kate must make her way at a time of nonstop celebrity coverage, when even the tiniest throwaway line can be blown out of proportion. The Queen has learned to live under the magnifying glass, and Kate would do well to use her as a model. Here are five lessons Kate could learn from the Queen:

1. Resist the lure of celebrity and cultivate humility

The young Elizabeth had what playwright Noël Coward called "star quality in excelsis." She and her handsome husband Prince Philip attracted crowds in the hundreds of thousands, but the royal couple refused to let their celebrity go to their heads. "The level of adulation—you wouldn't believe it," Philip recalled. "It could have been corroding. It would have been very easy to play to the gallery." The Queen Mother reinforced this impulse, encouraging her daughter to consider herself "the vehicle through which this love for country can be expressed."

The Queen has shown this aspect of her character in subtle ways—arriving unannounced at the theater after the house lights have gone down or blending into the background if someone else is being celebrated. When her cousin Lady Mary Clayton had her 90th birthday party in 2007, a caricaturist memorialized the occasion with a cartoon. Mary's figure is the largest, in the center, while the Queen's is tucked in among the others in the last row. "She can uphold the identity of herself as Queen and still be humble," said another cousin, Margaret Rhodes. "Her inner modesty stops her getting spoiled."

With her demure manner and steady temperament, Kate seems naturally inclined to absorb this lesson. She and William have spent much of their early married life out of the limelight, in the seclusion of the Welsh countryside. On her trips to London, Kate has remained admirably inconspicuous except for her appearances at royal events. Six weeks after her April 29, 2011, wedding to Prince William, with two security men at a discreet distance, she slipped through a side door of the Whole Foods in Kensington, dressed in jeans, a beige sweater and sandals, and headed straight to the prepared-food section to select some items for dinner—an unassuming act that never made it into the tabloids.

2. Stay with your look; it shows confidence and reassures the public

To a remarkable degree, the Queen has maintained consistency in her appearance, her style changing incrementally over time. "To be that consistent for that long is amazingly comforting," said Helen Mirren, who studied Elizabeth closely for her Oscar-winning performance in *The Queen*. "It shows such reliability. She has never lurched in one direction or another."

Elizabeth has viewed her wardrobe much as a military officer regards his uniforms: clothes to be worn as the occasion requires—vibrant colors so she could be easily visible at outdoor events, muted tones for indoor engagements. But she has also taken pleasure in crafting her look, sometimes getting down on the floor of her spacious dressing room at Buckingham Palace amid sketches and rolls of fabric to say, "Well, I'll have this with that." Above all, her approach has signaled a no-nonsense integrity.

Prince William's mother Diana was famous as a style icon, but she was erratic in her fashion choices, changing hairstyles and attention-grabbing accessories. (She once wore a $3 million emerald-and-diamond choker across her forehead as an Indian-style headband.) Kate has already perfected a polished and predictable look. Her glossy hairstyle is unvarying, and her restrained, much imitated fashion sense mingles simple off-the-rack frocks with sumptuous designer creations. Her message: discipline, along with a becoming self-assurance.

3. Master your brief

Since her teens, when she spent six years studying history and the intricacies of the British constitution under Henry Marten, vice provost of Eton College, Elizabeth has been conscientious about learning everything necessary to do her job well. As Queen, she has devoted several hours every day except on Christmas and Easter reviewing official government papers in her battered red leather dispatch boxes. Even while

PREVIOUS PAGE FROM LEFT: DOROTHY WILDING—CAMERA PRESS/RETNA; KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

staying with close friends on weekends, she remains deskbound in the mornings. "Oh, must you, ma'am?" a hostess once inquired. "If I missed one once, I would never get it straight again," the Queen replied.

She is equally diligent about background briefings on people she meets and places she visits. For a trip to Kingston upon Hull three years ago, she was given 70 pages by the lord lieutenant of East Yorkshire, including a seating plan for a luncheon at the local guildhall. When she sat down at her table, she was well prepared to converse with a lollipop lady (a school crossing guard), an ambulance driver, an environmental community volunteer and the manager of the Hull City soccer team, who was surprised by the detail of her questions about the previous evening's win over Fulham and how the club was dealing with unruly crowds.

Under the guidance of longtime diplomat David Manning, chosen by the Queen as an adviser to William and his brother Harry, Kate has been preparing for royal duties by learning about British institutions and exploring charitable causes that she may take on as a patron. As the first future Queen to be a university graduate, with a degree in art history, Kate is likely to lend her support to arts organizations.

Kate shares the Queen's work ethic. For her first solo engagement, in October, she agreed to host a dinner for the charity In Kind Direct when Prince Charles had to bow out at the last minute. She crammed her research and impressed the guests with her knowledge of the charity's mission and activities.

4. Embrace the countryside and its pursuits

Such are the privileges of multiple home and castle ownership that every member of the royal family is imbued with country life from infancy. The Queen first stalked deer when she was 16, and she was crawling through the undergrowth in her mackintosh trousers until she was nearly 60. Balmoral and Sandringham, her estates in Scotland and Norfolk, not only provide what the Queen has described as "a place to hibernate for a bit when one leads such a very movable life," but they also keep the family anchored to the land and its rhythms as well as to the lives of people who work there. Once, while driving a Scottish cleric around Balmoral, the Queen suddenly shouted, "Hooray!" as they passed one of her gamekeepers walking with a young woman. Elizabeth explained that his wife had left him and that she was delighted he was out with a new girlfriend.

Having grown up in Bucklebury, a picturesque Berkshire village, Kate has country bona fides, and she regularly escaped to Balmoral with William when they were students at St. Andrews. She has taken shooting lessons and has walked the fields and hills as her husband shot pheasant and grouse. She is unlikely to go out riding with the 85-year-old Queen, since Kate is allergic to horses. But there is always fly fishing, which the late Queen Mother did in Scotland's River Dee into her early 80s, often wearing pearls with her waders.

5. Support William without overshadowing him

Elizabeth has by definition been the center of attention from the moment she became Queen. To create a dignified persona at a young age, she was instructed to stifle her smile in public by her staid paternal grandmother, Queen Mary, who wore a tiara to dinner every night, even when she was dining alone with her husband King George V, and who toward the end of her life touchingly said she wished that just once she had climbed over a fence. Nor would Elizabeth look directly at photographers, as her mother did. "Over time you know that she'll look in a certain direction, so you can catch her," said Robin Nunn, a longtime photographer of the royal family. "The trouble is that unlike my mother, I don't have a naturally smiley face," Elizabeth once ruefully remarked.

The Queen Mother taught her daughter timeless lessons ("If you find something or somebody a bore, the fault lies in you"), how to withstand the stares of thousands of people and how to walk at a measured pace. While the Queen was trapped by the restraints of propriety required by her role, her mother had more freedom to display her enjoyment, and so does Kate.

Like the Queen Mother, Kate has a radiant smile that she flashes readily, and she has shown a similar warmth and ability to connect with virtually anyone. Equally important, she avoids drawing attention to herself and appears comfortable working a crowd in her husband's wake. Nor is William likely to feel upstaged as his father so often did by the magnetic Diana. As a couple, William and Kate have become what Prime Minister David Cameron has called "the team of the future." For the Queen, on the eve of her Diamond Jubilee, they are the key to keeping her dynasty strong in the new millennium. ■

Smith's Elizabeth the Queen: The Life of a Modern Monarch *will be published on Jan. 10 by Random House*

Pheasantries *The Queen carries a pheasant at Helmingham in Suffolk*

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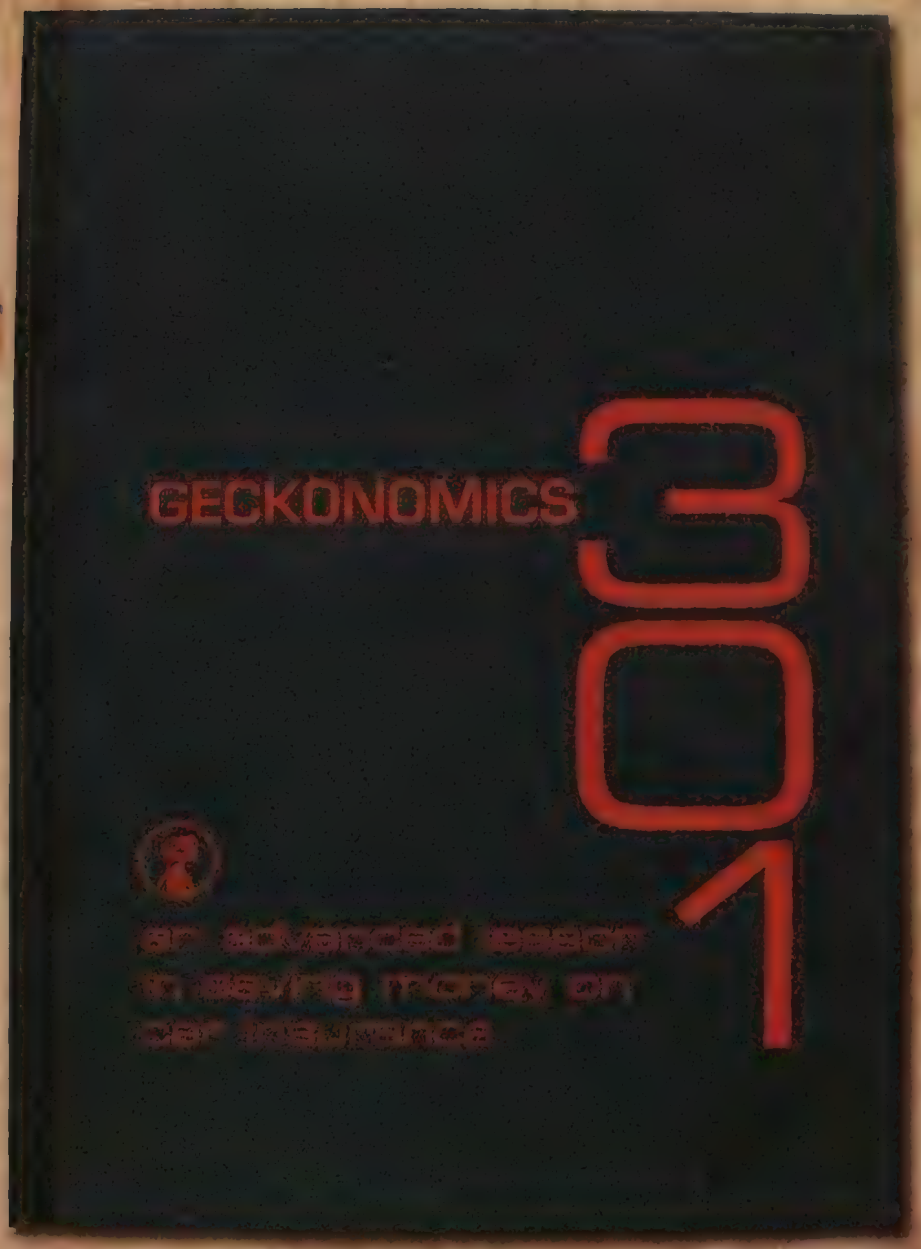

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The Culture

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Lady Mary Crawley (Michelle Dockery) saddles up on *Downton Abbey* PAGE 52

NICK RIGGS—ITV FOR MASTERPIECE

Pop Chart

MATRIMONY EDITION

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Aretha Franklin
The 69-year-old Queen of Soul is engaged to longtime friend Willie Wilkerson

Katy Perry
Comedian Russell Brand filed for divorce from the pop star after little more than a year

TELEVISION

The Price Is Rizzle

Snoop Dogg stopped by *The Price Is Right* to kick off the game show's celebrity charity week. The rapper proved surprisingly adept at Plinko, winning more than $72,000 for his youth football league. Apparently, having your mind on your money and your money on your mind pays off.

ART

Louvre Overcleans Leonardo?

Two of France's leading art experts have resigned their posts on the Louvre's advisory committee for restoration amid allegations that the Paris museum may have caused irreversible damage to Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* by cleaning it too aggressively. Leonardo's painting was treated with solvents some consider too harsh for the 500-year-old canvas, while others maintain the method leaves a brighter, more crowd-pleasing image.

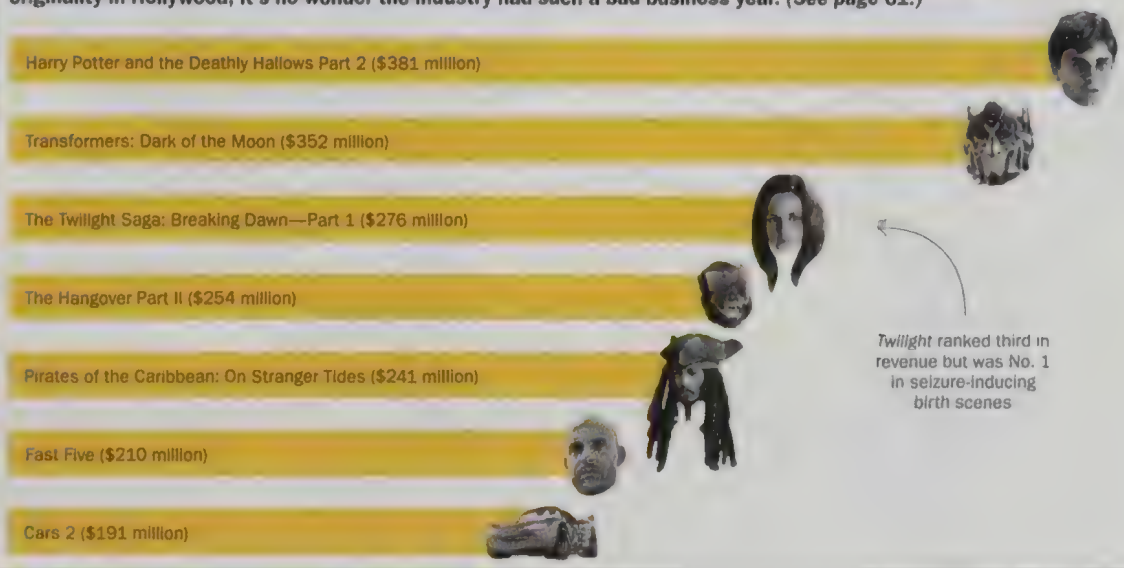
The painting is considered second only to the *Mona Lisa* among Leonardo's later works

Flocking Crazy

[illegible] had inexplicably gone berserk, slamming into buildings and regurgitating fish in several towns near California's Monterey Bay. A team of scientists examined birds from that time and found that nearly 80% of them had eaten plankton that contained a nerve-damaging toxin likely sourced to leaky septic tanks. Guess we all owe the birds an apology.

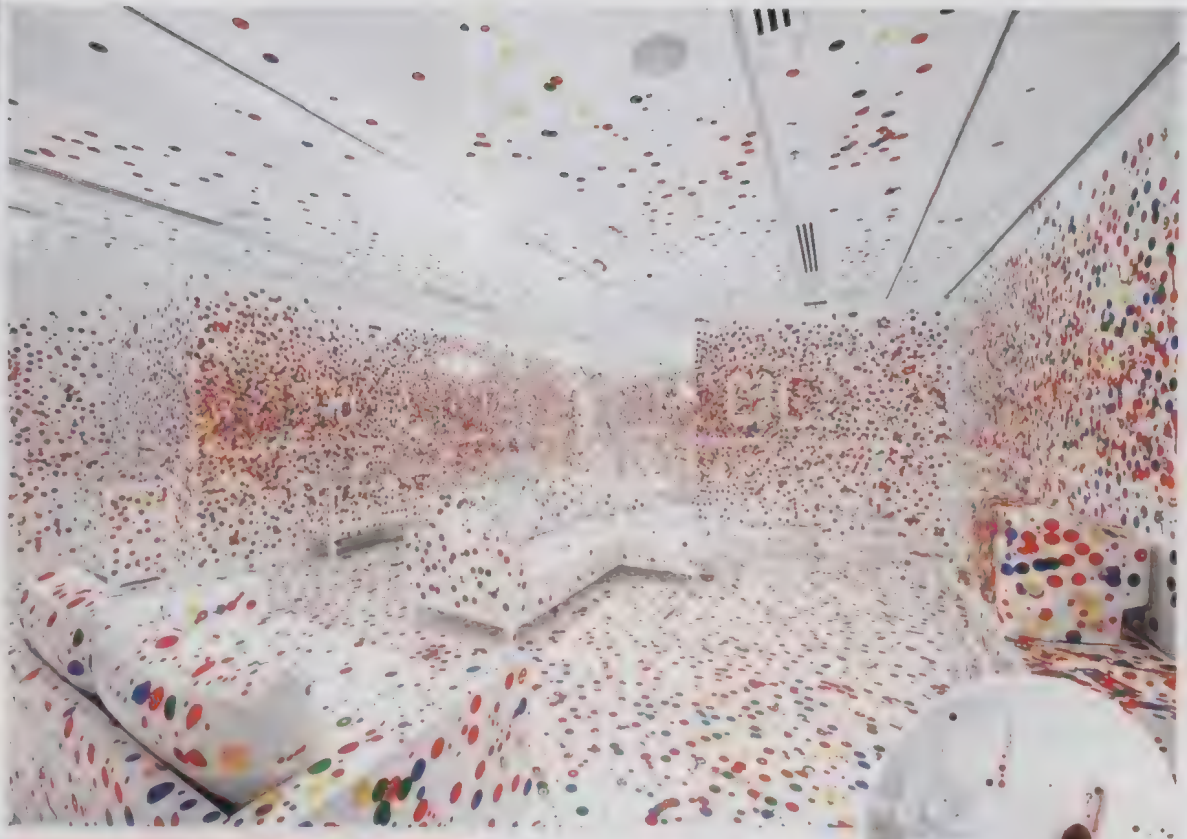
Sequels: The Sequel

Last January, Box Office Mojo reported a record 27 prequels and sequels planned for 2011. The flood of follow-up films included some of last year's biggest moneymakers; the seven highest-grossing movies were all sequels, with *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Part 2* taking the top spot. Given the lack of originality in Hollywood, it's no wonder the industry had such a bad business year. *(See page 61.)*



Twilight ranked third in revenue but was No. 1 in seizure-inducing birth scenes

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: JAMES DEVANEY—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES; GRANGER; EVERETT; MARK SHERWOOD; YAYOI KUSAMA/THE OBLITERATION ROOM 2011/GALLERY OF MODERN ART, BRISBANE; OTA FINE ARTS, TOKYO (2); JEWEL SAMAD—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; NATALIA FEDNER; ALAMY; DAVID CALVERT—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; MATTHEW SALACUSE—CORBIS OUTLINE; WARNER BROS.; SUMMIT; AP (5); CBS; JASON MERRITT—GETTY IMAGES

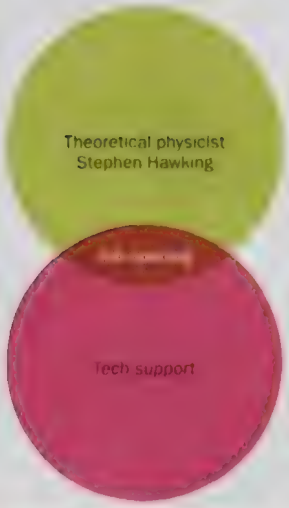


THE DOTS REALLY TIE THE ROOM TOGETHER *Over a two-week period, Japanese artist Yayoi Kusama invited Australian children to cover a faux living space with colorful stickers. The resulting installation, called* The Obliteration Room, *is part of the artist's "Look Now, See Forever" exhibition, on display at the Queensland Art Gallery through March 11.*

NAMES

They Call Him Mittens

According to a 60 *Minutes/Vanity Fair* poll, 2% of Americans think former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney's real first name is Mittens. It's not. (It's actually Willard; Mitt is his middle name.) But given Rick Santorum's recent sweater-vest obsession, if Romney embraces Mittens, 2012 could be the coziest presidential campaign yet.



SCIENCE

Help Wanted

British scientist Stephen Hawking recently posted an ad on his website seeking a technical assistant to help maintain his wheelchair and voice synthesizer. The ad, which offered a £25,000 ($39,000) salary, drew so much interest that Hawking temporarily took it down. So far, the job's still open.

VERBATIM

'The rest I will do terrible, horrible things with, and none of that is any of your business.'

LOUIS CK, on how he will spend [illegible]

[illegible]

1. How to reveal your stance on gun control to family members. Give them a piece of bread from the $650 toaster recently auctioned off by the National Rifle Association.

2. Whether or not *30 Rock* will address *Kim Jong Il's* death. Last season, Elizabeth Banks' character was married off to the former leader's son. So yes, says producer Robert Carlock, it'll be covered.

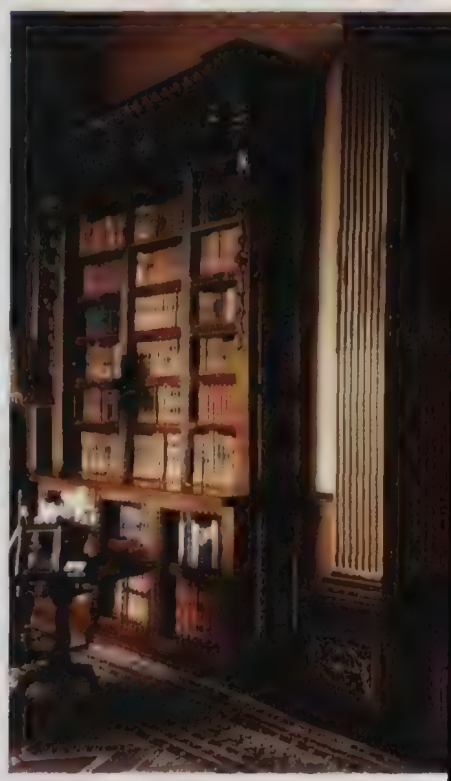
3. Having to down that cup of joe. A company called AeroShot makes lipstick-tube-size bottles of inhalable caffeine.

By Megan Friedman, Claire Suddath, Feifei Sun and Kayla Webley

Quiet on the Set!

What it's like to live at the real Downton Abbey

By William Lee Adams/Newbury

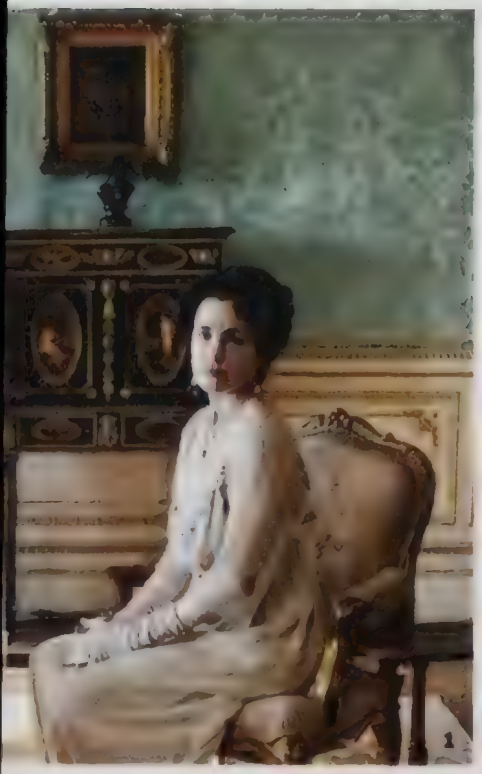


AS THE COUNTESS OF HIGHCLERE CASTLE, the grand home that is also the set of the lavish Edwardian TV drama *Downton Abbey*, Fiona Carnarvon needs to demonstrate grace under fire. In the spring, about 120 crew members descend on her 6,000-acre (2,400 hectare) estate. They drag miles of black cables across her lawns, place hot lamps near the 400-year-old leather wall coverings and swing camera cranes dangerously close to intricate wood carvings. "It's a complete takeover," she says, seated on a floral-print couch beneath a chandelier. "And it's always utter chaos." If crew members dare to lift the family's antique chairs—including one that belonged to Napoleon—by the arms rather than the legs, they can expect a playful scolding from the lady of the manor. "I sometimes have to stop them and say, 'Excuse me! You lift a chair by its bottom—and a woman in your arms,'" she says. And don't even get her started on the crew's request to wrap ivy around Highclere's marble statues. "This isn't just a film set," she says, placing her cappuccino firmly back on its saucer. "It's also our home."

The Carnarvon family has lived on this estate in rural Hampshire, England, since 1679. The countess sees it as her duty to open the doors of Highclere not just to television crews but also to tour groups and schoolchildren. "It's a living house and a part of our national heritage," she explains. But sharing Highclere is also a matter of necessity. The Carnarvons, like many aristocratic families in Britain, are asset-rich but cash-poor. Exorbitant maintenance costs can make even the bluest of blue bloods cringe: Geordie, Carnarvon's husband and the eighth earl, estimates that he will need to sink $18 million into renovations in the coming years, from fixing faulty plumbing to restoring a 15th century barn with ancient timbers. Any revenue the house generates—from its tearoom, its filming contract, its $15 entrance fee—goes toward upkeep. "If I wanted Manolo Blahnik shoes or swish clothes from London, I definitely married the wrong man," says Carnarvon, 47. "But I like looking at sheep and walking across lawns with dogs, so it's fine. Everybody with houses like ours faces exactly the same challenges."

But not everybody with houses like Carnarvon's has the free marketing of a *Downton Abbey*. Now starting its second season in the States on PBS, the Emmy-winning hit—which charts the ups and downs of the aristocratic Crawley family and its busybody servants—has transformed Highclere into Britain's most talked-about stately home. In 2010, about 1,200 people visited the castle on its busiest days; in October, following the U.K. premiere of the second season, 4,000 visitors came in a single afternoon. The so-called *Downton Abbey* effect has boosted the fortunes of other stately homes too. Increased interest following the series' first season helped historic houses attract more than 17 million visitors in 2010, up from 15 million in 2009.

Part of *Downton Abbey*'s appeal stems from the castle's Elizabethan grandeur. "It is a sculpture dedicated to the superiority of birth," says Julian Fellowes, the show's writer and creator. Highclere isn't just *Downton Abbey*'s title location; it's effectively one of the show's main characters. Carnarvon understands this, and she's given the producers access to every corner. The abundance of furniture from the 18th and 19th centuries reduces the need for outside props, though Carnarvon draws the line at china and



glassware. "They have all these lighting cranes above the tables," she says somewhat apologetically. "I'd much rather they broke their own kit than mine."

The Crawleys' life on *Downton Abbey* frequently mirrors the Carnarvons' reality. Just like the fictitious Lady and Earl of Grantham (played by Elizabeth McGovern and Hugh Bonneville), Carnarvon and her husband eat opposite each other frequently in the castle's state dining room, which counts 15 paintings on its walls, including a 14-ft.-tall (4 m) van Dyck portrait of Charles I. And the Carnarvons do gather around the red velvet sofa in the library after dinner—though they usually roll in a bar and play charades, and the countess is more likely to don leather boots and jeans than a corset and elbow-length gloves.

HOME AND CASTLE

The English estate Highclere Castle is both a family residence and a ready-made set for a hit series. 1 Downton Abbey's butler, Mr. Carson (Jim Carter), Lady Mary (Michelle Dockery) and Mary's mother Cora, Countess of Grantham (Elizabeth McGovern), in the drawing room. 2 Highclere's drawing room and 3 library before cast and crew arrive for a day of filming. 4 The Dowager Countess (Maggie Smith) presides from the library

Open house *From left: visitors arrive for a tour of Highclere Castle; the estate's resident Countess Fiona Carnarvon*

Shooting disrupts any cozy routines. During filming, the crew arrives at 7 in the morning and generally stays for 13 hours; each day results in just six minutes of TV footage. Carnarvon must constantly consider logistics: if Highclere is hosting a weekend wedding, filming a fox hunt on the pristine grass simply won't do. Naturally she sometimes feels trapped. "I'll be walking from my office to get a cup of tea and I suddenly hear, 'Silence!'" she says. "I always hope it's a quick scene. Otherwise I'm stuck there for a while."

Keeping Up with the Carnarvons

DOWNTON ABBEY HAS HELPED PROPEL the Carnarvons' renovation efforts and given them the peace of mind of knowing they can sustain their staff—including two full-time chefs and an 88-year-old steward—for years to come. But the future of hundreds of other British stately homes remains less cushy.

Nick Way, director general of the Historic Houses Association, says Britain's historic homes face a backlog of repairs amounting to more than $600 million, up 50% from six years ago. For the 1,500 stately homes that his organization advises, the average cost of maintenance—from cleaning antique carpets to roof work—is $150,000 per year, and at least three properties budget more than $1.5 million. "Most of us live in our houses and decide how and when to decorate or renovate," Way says. "But if you live in one of these houses, it's not like that. The house lives you."

Hoping to ease the squeeze, homeowners have started innovating to attract more visitors. Dalemain, a Georgian house in Cumbria, stages a Hindu dog blessing to celebrate the Nepalese day of the dog. At Hampton Court Palace, Henry VIII's old digs, guests receive velvet cloaks at the start of their tour. At Kelburn Castle, which dates back to the 13th century, the Earl of Glasgow commissioned Brazilian street artists to paint psychedelic murals on his home. The National Trust, a charity that advises historic properties, has encouraged estates to hire actors in period costume and remove barriers so that visitors can climb into beds and play billiards on pool tables.

Critics have lambasted such moves as the Disneyfication of British heritage. "I'm absolutely against throwing vulgarian tosh at the public. If increasing visitor numbers alone is your objective, then offer live sex and public executions," says Stephen Bayley, the founder and former chief executive of London's Design Museum. "I loathe this awful idea of having chewed chicken bones on the floor and his lordship's cigar butt smoldering in the ashtray. The contemplation of great architecture and landscape doesn't require third-rate circus activity."

'The contemplation of great architecture and landscape doesn't require third-rate circus activity.'
—STEPHEN BAYLEY, FOUNDER, LONDON'S DESIGN MUSEUM

But something of the kind might be required to preserve these wonders for future generations, especially as costs rise faster than incomes. "It's a tricky one," Carnarvon says of the need to both lure visitors and respect a building's integrity. "I'm afraid I still have the red ropes up."

She has, however, expanded her revenue stream—without erecting a barbecue pit in her living room. In honor of her husband's great-grandfather—the fifth Earl of Carnarvon, who was present alongside archeologist Howard Carter at the discovery of King Tut in 1922—the Carnarvons converted their cellars into an exhibition that contains 5,000-year-old artifacts exhumed from Tut's tomb. And she recently published a book, *Lady Almina and the Real Downton Abbey*, about a predecessor who steered Highclere Castle through World War I.

That's a lot to keep straight, even if you have live-in staff to help. But unlike the characters whose tumultuous lives unfold in her drawing rooms, Carnarvon knows that resolution to her own drama is never far from hand. "At the end of the day, if I haven't done it all, at least I've tried," she says. "And if it's really bad, a glass of pink champagne does wonders." Surely all homeowners can agree on that. ■

GABRIELA MCDONNELL FOR TIME

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Money

Higher Spirits. Why wine and liquor sales beat beer in a flat economy

By Bill Saporito

AN HOUR OF INVESTIGATIVE DRINKING made the pattern clear to me. At T-Bar, a semiswank eatery on Manhattan's Upper East Side, the bartender was serving a steady stream of pricey vodkas like Grey Goose and Ketel One, scotches like Glenlivet, and wine. Only once did a solitary Budweiser get the call.

Perhaps the drinks selection was a geographic anomaly—I was in a martini ZIP code. To investigate further, I hailed a subway downtown to my friend Ronan Downs' joint, a proper watering hole called Beckett's. Downs, who's been in this business for decades, confirmed my hunch. "It's a very interesting dynamic," he observed. "The Budweisers and Coors are losing out to vodka, Irish whiskey, tequila, bourbon." And craft beers. Downs also co-owns a craft-beer place called Taproom No. 307, where he doesn't offer Bud or Coors or Heineken. At his next place, he's hiring a full-time mixologist to cater to the under-30 set.

It's not just New York. Demography, economics and the cocktail culture have combined to help make spirits and wine the preferred alcoholic beverages across the U.S. at the expense of the brand-name premium beers. Throw in superior marketing by the liquor companies and the rise of craft beers and you can distill the reasons the major beer brands are in decline. By the end of 2010, total beer sales slid below 50% of the beverage-alcohol market. Sales by volume declined an additional 1.7% in the 52-week period ending Nov. 12, according to Nielsen, while spirits sales increased 4.3%.

This isn't small you-know-what. In the $60 billion alcoholic-beverage industry, each market-share point is worth about $600 million at wholesale. Anemic growth potential is one reason Anheuser-Busch, a 150-year-old U.S. institution, was taken over by Belgium's InBev (now called ABInBev) in 2008. Hundreds of jobs were lost in AB's home of St. Louis in the vicious cost cutting that followed.

You'd think economics would favor beer, since it's relatively cheaper than liquor. But the recession was a gut punch to big brewers, whose drinkers have lower incomes and took more of the downturn's brunt. You'd also think demographics would favor beer, since the LDA—that is, legal drinking age—population has grown by a million young people to 22 million.

But it's the composition of that crowd that matters. And among millennials in general and women in particular, a trendlet trio known as premiumization, individualization and feminization has hurt premium beer.

4.3%
Increase of spirits sales by volume in the 52-week period ending Nov. 12; meanwhile, beer sales dropped 1.7%

Premiumization is a return to fewer but better. "You are seeing more and more consumers who prefer two bottles of Fat Tire ale over four bottles of domestic premiums," says craft-beer-industry financier Bill Anderson, CEO of First Beverage Group. That's why craft-beer sales, 10% of the total market, are rising by double digits. It also explains the success of superpremium and flavored vodkas and a slew of artisanal bourbons, ryes and gins being ginned up in small batches and sold at high prices. Downs estimates that he carries 30% more varieties than he did five years ago.

Individualization is all about millennials, who are far more attracted to what marketers call authentic brands and to personalizing their drinks. Wayne Hartunian, U.S. vice president of whiskeys and cognac for major French distiller Pernod Ricard, says, "Millennials overindex with spirits consumption vs. the rest of the population." That's marketing-speak for "They prefer liquor to beer in a big way." Pernod has made Jameson Irish whiskey a huge success. Sales increased 25% in 2011, according to Nielsen, through clever advertising of a 230-year-old brand and by cultivating a corps of bartenders across the country to promote the product.

Women have also changed their drinking patterns: they're now as likely to drink shots as cosmos, says Downs. The liquor companies have focused attention on them, from Absolut's faceted, feminine Glimmer bottle to Beam's creation of 22 products aimed at women, among them the cocktail brand Skinnygirl.

Meanwhile, the big beer brands are flailing with their frat-jock advertising—all coarse jokes and party-hearty pitches. Coors Light touts a label with stripes that change color when cold and then "supercold," apparently believing young men need help comprehending the thermodynamic properties of beer. It isn't working anymore. Even the kids are drinking like grownups. ■

ILLUSTRATION BY JASON FULFORD AND TAMARA SHOPSIN FOR TIME

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Tuned In

A Few Good Men. *Work It* is a drag, but TV does right by guys elsewhere

By James Poniewozik

ABC'S NEWEST SITCOM BELIEVES IN THE old theory that you can discern the state of the economy from hemlines—in this case, men's hemlines. In *Work It*, two unemployed St. Louis men dress in drag to work in a pharmaceutical-sales office because the "mancession" has sucked up all the work fit for menfolk.

Work It may already be the worst show of 2012, and not just because its drag gags are cringey (three words: "My Humps" montage), its attitude sexist and its premise dubious and dated. (Men in fact claimed twice as many new jobs in 2011 as women did.) The concept—men do man work, and ladies do lady work!—feels bogus at a time when some of TV's best male characters are taking on different roles at home and work, without (literally) shedding their pants.

Fox's *New Girl*, for instance, showcases Zooey Deschanel, but it's more interesting for her character's male roomies, a sweetly self-aware band of brosephs who pay into a "douchebag jar" when their dudeliness gets too obnoxious. (One of them works in a mostly female office whose dynamics are far better drawn than *Work It*'s.) And on shows from *Louie* to *Raising Hope* to *Modern Family*, primetime dads are starting to do the kind of hands-on parenting that TV used to reserve for moms; even *The Good Wife* has a legal investigator who's a stay-at-home dad and takes the kids on cases.

The season's most intriguing male role model may be new dad Chris (Will Arnett) on NBC's *Up All Night*, who daddy-tracks his law career while his wife goes back to work. There was a time when the show would have been all inept-Mr. Mom jokes (say, in the early '80s, when the *Bosom Buddies* clone *Work It* should have aired). Instead, his anxieties and insecurities are much the same as a new mom's. Chris knows there's bias against men watching kids. Even he refuses to hire a male sitter. ("Come on! You're a dude, dude!") Being a guy affects his parenting, but it doesn't define it.

What *Work It* does, like so much hacky Mars-Venus comedy, is divide the world neatly into men problems and women problems. But paying the bills and trying to be an involved parent are simply people problems. Showing men dealing with them that way is more true to life. And it makes for much funnier comedy than *Work It*'s attempt to put lipstick on a chauvinist pig. ■

FROM LEFT: ABC; NBC; ABC (3)

I hope he has someone he can talk to.
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Movies

Mission Impossible. Box office is so bad, perhaps only Batman can save it

By Richard Corliss

IF HOLLYWOOD MADE A HOSPITAL movie, it would have to cast itself as the terminal patient. Box-office revenue in North America was down 4.9% in 2011 from the previous year, with the fewest tickets sold since 1992. The DVD cash cow is nearly milked dry, as audiences go for cheaper downloading and streaming formats. These are numbers the industry doesn't want to crunch but shred.

Here is a brief coroner's report:

1. Movies are seasonal entertainment. No films released before the end of April and only two films released after Labor Day (*The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn—Part 1* and *Paranormal Activity 3*) earned as much as $40 million in their opening weekend. Summer was fine, with the *Harry Potter*, *Transformers* and *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchises raking in their predicted coin. But if Hollywood is going to be a May-to-August business, it may as well bring back drive-ins.

2. Young men have gone AWOL. The failure of burly fare like *Green Lantern* and *Cowboys & Aliens* underlines how young males are staying home with video games and social networks. Meanwhile, women turned the relatively low-budget *Bridesmaids* and *The Help* into winners, and customers over 40 queued en masse. If only the industry knew how to make more movies for adults.

3. Stars are sooo last century. Tom Hanks and Julia Roberts flopped in *Larry Crowne*, and only three of the year's top 20 films were star vehicles (Johnny Depp, Tom Cruise and Robert Downey Jr. in their respective *Pirates*, *Mission: Impossible* and *Sherlock Holmes* sequels).

4. Sequels are sagging. Yes, the year's top seven films (*Potter 7.2*, *Transformers 3*, *Twilight 4.1*, *The Hangover Part II*, *Pirates 4*, *Fast Five* and *Cars 2*) were all retreads, but the grosses of five of these were well below their previous episodes'. And there aren't enough "new" hits to stoke the next wave of sequels.

5. Cartoons are crashing. Animated features, box-office magnets for a decade, lost their luster. In 2010 five of the top 10 grossers were cartoons; in 2011 there was just one (*Cars 2*). Need more evidence? Three words: *Mars Needs Moms*.

Some analysts predict a twilight and no breaking dawn. But Hollywood, the home of the happy ending, can look abroad, where business is booming—even if this means the industry has outsourced the bulk of its audience. At home, 2012 could restore the glow with a new *Dark Knight* in July and Peter Jackson's first *Hobbit* film in December. Hey, wait a minute: Didn't the Maya say the world will end Dec. 21? That would be a big hit, with no sequels. ■

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A BRIEF HISTORY
WARREN G. HARDING

Warren G. Harding, 29th President of the United States, is widely considered to be one of the worst American Presidents in history. HBO's award-winning *Boardwalk Empire*® offers a tantalizing glimpse of the exciting era during which he held office.

Although "intoxicating liquors" were outlawed throughout his term, Harding — like most powerful men at the time — had no trouble indulging in the illegal substances. Drinking and gambling seemed to epitomize the twice-weekly poker nights Harding hosted in his White House study. A friend of his wife's once said, "no rumor could have exceeded the reality" of what went on in that room, "the air heavy with tobacco smoke, trays with bottles containing every imaginable brand of whisky."

In the end, it was the massive corruption perpetrated by Harding's own friends he'd appointed to his cabinet that tarnished his legacy beyond repair. It seemed he was too busy with the diversions of the day to spend time running the country.

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Joel Stein

Over My Dead Body

My new, life-absorbing quest to plan a funeral fit for a king

MY GRANDMOTHER MAMA ANN died the same week as Kim Jong Il. By comparison, her funeral sucked. Only her two sons and two of her grandkids came. No one cried. The service was three minutes long. When you fade away over years, die at 90 and don't starve an entire nation, your impact wanes into nothingness.

Which seems wrong because not only did Mama Ann not run any forced-labor camps, she started a business that lifted her family from poverty to wealth, even though she spent little of it on herself. She was optimistic despite moving in with relatives at 13 after her mother died and living alone since my grandfather passed away in 1984. She was both warmly noncritical and hilariously, cuttingly honest. Yet this is the 154th article in TIME in which Kim Jong Il's name has appeared—and only the sixth for Mama Ann.

The lesson I've taken from Mama Ann's life is that, whatever it takes, I need to make sure I have a spectacular, nation-stopping funeral. For advice, I called Lisa Takeuchi Cullen, author of *Remember Me: A Lively Tour of the New American Way of Death*. Her first tip: Hire professional mourners. A few of these pros start their phony emoting, and it catches on with the crowd, just as if they were Yelp.com reviewers. Professional mourning is still a vibrant industry in places such as Italy and China, Cullen told me. "They're usually women, usually village elders," she said. "It heightens the emotions." I liked everything about this idea except the elder part. If I'm paying for mourners, I'm getting hot, young female mourners.

Cullen also recommended that I get involved with my local Asian community. "The cultures that you think are the most stiff and buttoned-up, like Japan, China and Korea, are the cultures that openly sob," she said. More than 3,000 people showed up for Cullen's Japanese grandfather's funeral. "At the very, very end, when they're about to close the casket, all the extended relatives surrounded the casket and started to wail." I totally want wailing. Asian funerals also often involve a close male relative carrying a giant framed photo of the deceased. My portrait will be done by Shepard Fairey. Not because I want it to be. It's just hard to keep that guy from doing portraits.

But the most important thing, Cullen said, is to move to New Orleans, where they have jazz funerals with marching brass bands, parades and dancing mourners twirling parasols. When I told my lovely wife Cassandra about moving to New Orleans, she objected, citing the lack of job opportunities, subpar schools and a bunch of other details that were nowhere near as important as my funeral. Luckily, I found the L.A.-based New Orleans Traditional Jazz Band. For just $1,000, Hilarion Domingue, the band's leader, is going to have an eight-piece band parade down the street with my body. He does about 35 jazz funerals a year, and 80% of them are for Asians, or as I call them, friends.

When I asked Domingue about hooking me up with some pro mourners, he said, "Man, I never heard of that. And I'm from New Orleans. But if that's what you want, buckaroo, we're going to get it for you." Though I trust his taste, I posted an ad on Craigslist in the L.A. Talent Gigs section just to be safe. Within a day, I had 17 offers, including one from Diana Conway, a 25-year-old struggling screenwriter, who said she'd charge $40 an hour. "I look really good in black," she told me. I also heard from Franklin Ruehl, who while neither young nor hot nor female, owns a dark suit and has appeared on the shows *1,000 Ways to Die* and *Ghost Whisperer* and in the movie *Pete Smalls Is Dead*.

I'm going to have Conway, Ruehl and the band perform at the Hollywood Forever cemetery, which is right near my house, shows outdoor movies in the summer and is the final resting place of Douglas Fairbanks, Johnny Ramone, Fay Wray, Bugsy Siegel and Toto from *The Wizard of Oz*. Hollywood Forever will even produce one of its Life Stories™ for me—a documentary about my life that I assume will involve clips of Michael Ian Black and Paul Scheer saying cutting things about my hairstyle choices. I've also arranged for Distinctive Assets, the company that runs gift lounges for celebrities at events like the Grammys, to hand out gift bags that I'm hoping will contain robot spaceship teleporters. I'm intending to live a long, long time.

The more I got into the details of my funeral, though, the more I started to wonder if I actually want to die the way Mama Ann did: uncelebrated and unmourned. She absorbed all the pain of all the losses of all the people she loved and left nearly none of that sadness behind. Maybe it's nobler to fade away than to burn out.

But it seems a little late for nobility for me. Plus, I've already hired the band. ■

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10 Questions

Kyle says his longest shot was 2,100 yd. (1,900 m), with a .338 Lapua Magnum, outside Baghdad

Navy SEAL Chris Kyle, who earned two Silver Stars in Iraq, explains the sniper's point of view

You've written a book, *American Sniper*. Are special-operations guys usually so public?
It's kind of frowned on. But I'm not trying to glorify myself. I didn't want to put the number of kills I had in there. I wanted to get it out about the sacrifices military families have to make.

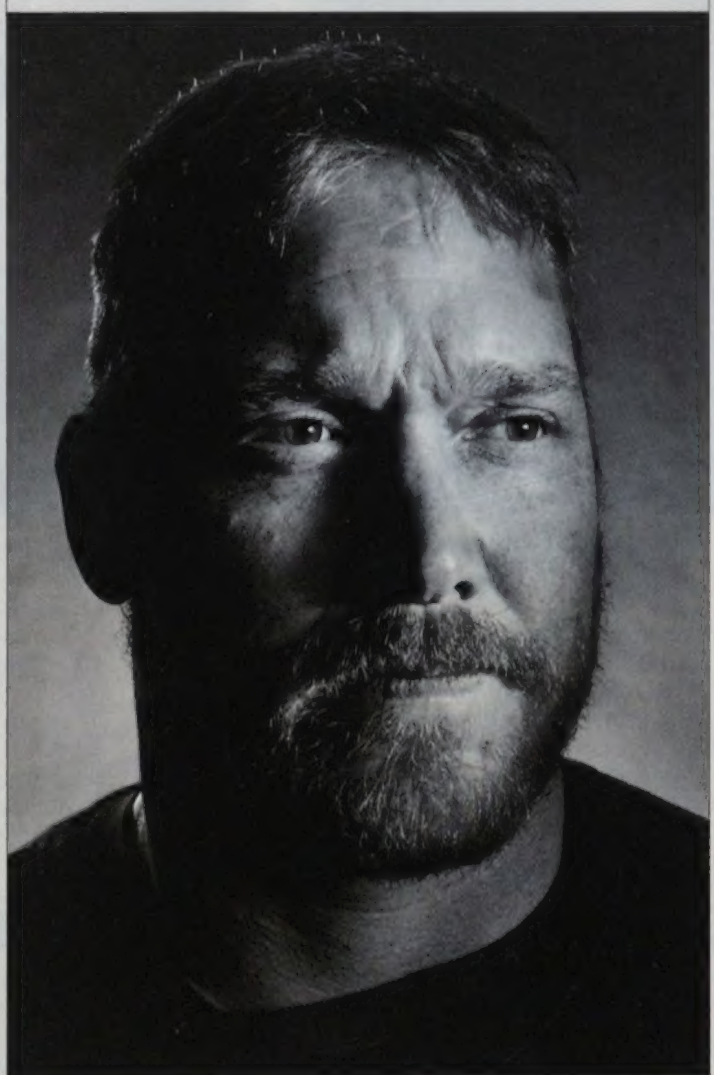
That number is there though. You have purportedly the highest of any American—160 "confirmed sniper kills." What does that mean?
When you take a shot and the guy goes down, you have to have witnesses verify that he is dead. We'd fill out an assessment of what happened—the time, the place, the caliber used, the distance, what he was doing, what he was wearing.

What goes through your mind when you kill someone?
The first time, you're not even sure you can do it. But I'm not over there looking at these people as people. I'm not wondering if he has a family. I'm just trying to keep my guys safe. Every time I kill someone, he can't plant an IED. You don't think twice about it.

You shot a woman with a toddler in Nasiriyah because she had a grenade. But you didn't kill a child in Sadr City who had an RPG launcher. What was your line in the sand?
According to the rules of engagement at the time, you could kill anyone with an RPG on sight. That day I just couldn't kill the kid. He'll probably grow up and fight us, but I just didn't want to do it.

Some snipers leave a target alive so they can shoot the people who come to his aid. Do you think this is O.K.?
I think so. I've never done it. You don't have to leave them alive for someone to come help them. With the Muslim faith, they need to be buried before either the sun goes down or the sun comes up. So they'll come get the body.

Does your wife still have to say your name if she gets into bed after you're asleep, so you don't come up swinging?
It's not as bad as it used to be. But even before I was in the military, I was extremely jumpy when asleep.



How would you respond to the suggestion that your book makes you seem violent and bloodthirsty?
I really don't care what people think of me. I've got my family. I've got my friends. Yes, I have been trained to be a little more aggressive if I need to be, but I don't go around thumping people.

Why weren't you a fan of having journalists embedded with the military?
The media cause more problems than they do good. For the most part, the public is very soft. You live in a dreamworld. You have no idea what goes on on the other side of the world, the harsh realities of what these people are doing to themselves and our guys, and there are certain things that need to be done to take care of them.

Conservatively, the war has cost $824 billion and 4,484 Americans' and 200,000 Iraqis' lives. Was it worth it?
I think it was. I'm not trying to devalue the lives of the guys we lost. But going over there—we did the right thing.

What if killing turns out to be the thing you were best at?
I know that's not true. I'm a better husband and father than I was a killer. I'm pretty comfortable with not having to kill anyone. Now, don't take deer hunting away from me.
—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

VIDEO AT TIME.COM
To see interviews with Kyle and other newsmakers, go to time.com/10questions

FROM LEFT: ERIK TANNER FOR TIME; COMING WORLDS

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